MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INSTITUTIONAL REINTEGRATION IN A PATRILINEAL SOCIETY OF CENTRAL CHILE

Louis
L. C. Faron

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Mapuche Social Structure

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*L.*ouis *C. Faron*

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Foreword

This is the first of a new series of University of Illinois monographs 21 that will cover the various fields of anthropology. Some of these monographs will include research of the Studies of Cultural Regularities, a program of which Louis Faron was a member for several years.

Studies of Cultural Regularities are primarily concerned with identifying cross-cultural regularities or similarities as well as differences in the acculturation of native societies under the impact of the larger Western world. Faron's study of the Araucanian Indians of Chile was carried out in the field and written by 1956. Subsequently, a grant from the Ford Foundation permitted a more ambitious and systematic approach to this broad problem by a larger staff. These results will be published subsequently. In the course of this research, we have recognized several major considerations that must be accorded primary attention and that illuminate Faron's monograph.

First, since European influence has been exerted upon nearly all 21 native populations for many decades and upon many for several centuries, 177 it is necessary to identify the base culture or base line from which acculturation or change is reckoned. This base culture will be characterized in part by its distinctive aboriginal tradition or patterns, in part by whether the society had developed only to the level of a small, autonomous, kin-based community or was integrated in some larger chiefdom, state, or empire, and in part by whether it began to

121
177 change under the influence of early Western mercantilist culture or later industrial culture.

Second, since the processes of change emanate predominantly from the outside, acculturation must be related to the particular aspects of the many-faceted Western civilization which have been factors in change. Thus, the native society may have become bound laborers on colonial plantations or free producers of cash commodities, it may have been left on its land or restricted to reservations, it may have become urbanized as unskilled laborers or skilled artisans, and it may have been subjected to education, religious proselytization, and innumerable other influences.

Third, the salient features of what may be called the context of acculturation must be recognized. These include the potentials of the natural environment for providing subsistence and cash commodities which furnish links with the larger world, access to markets both local and overseas, demography especially in relationship to land resources and to the colonial settlers, racial, cultural, and religious composition of the colony or nation as they induce segregation and fixed status or permit assimilation and social mobility, and any other factors which have a decisive influence on the course and rate of change.

121 Faron's present monograph, although written against a background of these broader interests, should be viewed as a data paper, a basic analysis of the Araucanian Indians, rather than as a definitive attempt to place the Araucanians in any broad typology or scheme of cross-cultural regularities, even though many regularities are clearly evident.
114
121 The need for a thorough field study of these Indians arose from the absence of any adequate analysis prior to the year Faron and his wife spent among them during 1952-54. Apart from the Spanish chroniclers, who provided only inadequate bits of information, the principal students of the Araucanians had been interested primarily in reconstructing their aboriginal culture rather than in the contemporary culture, and some sought to place the native society in preconceived theoretical schemes of world culture history. For example, the late Ricardo Latcham, a British engineer turned ethnologist, endeavored to show that these strongly patrilineal people must formerly have been matrilineal since the presuppositions of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory stipulated that this should be so. Later ethnologists, following the interests of the early decades of the present century, endeavored to identify surviving fragments of aboriginal ethnography and tended strongly to see the modern culture as a thin,

disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from 114
earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept 121
that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary
continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances,
since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological
studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts
of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis 121
rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal [122]
base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a
year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing
the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish 175
culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that 177
the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent
local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys
of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility
and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also
disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the [648]
continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was
surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern
conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little- 121
known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial 177
Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were 648
one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated [161]
at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly
efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that
of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps
owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of
them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South
America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern
Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians
either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the
new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying
action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the
1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement
or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural 177
base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. [121]
This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spaniards at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1884, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1884, warfare [161] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of c[illegible]rops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely [illegible]sistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into

177
[167]

more face-to-face contacts with Chileans. And the surplus population is being drained off each year to be lost in the Chilean town and rural population.

At the same time, the Araucanian culture, although now a subculture of Chile, continues to be a very distinctive ethnic entity. House types, shamanism, lineage ceremonialism, beliefs in gods, nature spirits, ghosts, and witchcraft, and even lineage-based political activities persist. Patrilineal reckoning still predominates. Many home crafts are still carried on. Faron does not see this modern culture as a mixture of aboriginal bits with modern Chilean customs, nor conceive it as creole or mestizo, part native and part Spanish. He does not consider that the Araucanian culture is doomed in the immediate future. The modern culture is an adaptation to reservation life of the earlier culture of the warring period which itself had a strong continuity with the aboriginal culture. The contemporary Indians will change only gradually so long as the reservations assure them land and a certain isolation.

To place the present monograph in the perspective of the larger objectives of the Studies of Cultural Regularities, we may say first that the base-line culture is that of a tribal society which had been affected by three centuries of warfare against the Spaniards, though not deeply penetrated by Spanish institutions – for example, by the religious brotherhoods and the ceremonial calendar which were so widely imposed on other South American Indians. It is a modified aboriginal culture that was guaranteed peace and placed in comparative isolation on reservations. Second, the influences from the larger society upon the Araucanians during the past seventy-six years are largely those of a preindustrial society mediated through reservation institutions. In fact, the principal aspect of the acculturational context since 1884 is the reservation situation rather than intimate mingling with the basic rural and urban population of Chile. At the same time, much of this basic population outside the reservations has an ancestry of Indians, largely Araucanian, who were earlier assimilated or who spilled over as surplus population from the reservations.

I venture the prognosis that in the course of time the Araucanians will become less distinguishable from their fellow farmers throughout the nation – that in the long run the reservations will have served to retard acculturation but not fundamentally to change its direction. Such aboriginal institutions as persist today will doubtless be readapted functionally as the total social pattern continues to evolve, 177 while the latter will approach types that are emerging among rural populations in many other parts of the world. Underlying processes everywhere will include improved farm methods, access to markets, acceptance of national laws including concepts of land tenure in severalty, greater literacy, and increasing face-to-face contacts with the basic national population. These processes are breaking down lineage units, enhancing the importance of individual effort and cash returns, creating new class alignment based upon wealth, and gradually secularizing values and attitudes. While these processes have barely begun, let alone culminated, they seem clearly discernible among the Araucanians.

JULIAN H. STEWARD

Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the Mapuche 121
(Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I 114
lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization
of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account
for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular
features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that
considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are
held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will
be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action
involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared
as a sequel to the present one.

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled 177
for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which 648
have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions.
While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially
from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the
Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean
government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy.
They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have
colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the
context of colonialism.

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society, 121

[121] to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. [122] Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition*, and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. 114 177 I disagree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing *culture* ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:36). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most obvious [181] similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society [182] a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the prereservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups and his specific denial of the integrative effects of ancestor propitiation (1951:108). Without a consideration of these institutions Mapuche society cannot be understood at all. 114 177 [182]

Cooper's conclusion is different from Titiev's, although he was also preoccupied with cultural traits viewed discretely. Cooper's attempt to reconstruct Mapuche culture as a relatively untarnished model of its aboriginal expression resulted in unintentional equilibrium. Is it possible, after all, to say that a society has remained intact after stunning military defeat, population dispersion, and then resettlement and immobilization on more than 2,000 small reservations? Such a view is possible only if one thinks in terms of the persistence of culture traits as vestigial and discrete units "carried" or "practiced" by some descendent population, not if one is concerned with the structure of contemporary Mapuche society.

The position maintained in this monograph falls well between 124
those of Cooper and Titiev. It disagrees with their interpretation rather than with their ethnography, although the reporting of ethnographic "fact" is undoubtedly colored by the theoretical position of the investigator. I want to make this clear: in arriving at my own position, I have made certain theoretical assumptions, apparently different from those which have been tacitly made by Cooper and Titiev. None of these is novel, but they all have to do with the manner in 121
which contemporary Mapuche society has come into being and the 177
way in which it maintains itself as a distinct entity in a colonial framework. It might be well to state certain of these assumptions now, since much of this book is based on an elaboration of them. They involve considerations of structural continuity and change, set in a context of ecological adjustment. I view Mapuche society as being in a phase of structural equilibrium. It is undergoing some organizational change, as always, but this represents minor pattern adjustment within a stable social structure. Major structural change occurred generations ago as a result of initial adaptation to reservation life. Qualitative changes in the structure of Mapuche society will likely occur again, but only as a result of pressing external forces. During the past five or six decades Mapuche society has exhibited marked structural stability. Contemporary Mapuche society is understandable, not as a thin reflection of aboriginal society or as a moribund, transitional society, but only as a relatively stable phase in the reintegration of evolving social institutions. The fact that it will inevitably cease to exist as an exotic appendage of Chilean society does not concern me

121 177 here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

182 172 [611] [624] A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. [829] [774] The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

to most Chileans. They are partly explainable in the idiom of cultural 182
continuity, partly as a series of modifications associated with ecological 177
adjustment. Taken together, these explanations express a reintegration of Mapuche society.

The purely economic and political aspects of ecological adaptation seem to be taking the Mapuche into an area of social relationship which is usually discussed under the rubric of "acculturation" — that is, toward integration with the regional expression of Chilean society. I will have more to say about this, mainly to show that where these so-called acculturative forces have been felt they by no means have appreciably affected the basic structure of Mapuche society. They have certainly not caused Mapuche society to "disintegrate" or to become "virtually indistinguishable" from white segments of Chilean society. Gaining a livelihood and maintaining a political front within the context of colonial status seem to be two areas in which Mapuche social institutions might be expected to break down, to change radically. That this has not occurred seems to speak for the sustaining force of such institutions as patrilineality, matrilateral marriage, and the pan-
oply of religious morality. This is not to say that Mapuche society 121
will not undergo structural change in the future but, rather, to call attention to the need for analyzing Mapuche society in its present phase of structural equilibrium. Learned guessing about the ultimate destiny of "moribund" societies might well be part of the anthropologist's bag of tricks. I do not deny its limited usefulness. I contend, however, that one might easily predict the eventual passing of the Mapuche without having learned anything about Mapuche society or even without setting foot in Chile. I question only the value of this sort of prediction, especially when it is in the form of an ex cathedra statement by a professional anthropologist. I prefer to direct my attention to the following proposition: a tenaciously stable social system, in the face of colonial opposition, sows the seeds of its destruction through the very inflexibility which makes adaptation to a new social and natural environment most difficult. The social system which survives does so as long as it adjusts to new conditions *within* the matrix of traditional social institutions. Such adaptation is the antithesis of acculturation.

I would now like to thank those persons who have contributed di- 000
rectly to the preparation of this book. I am indebted to Professor G. P. Murdock for his helpful criticism of several chapters of an earlier draft and for his generally encouraging comments. I thank especially

000 Professors J. H. Steward and E. H. Winter and Mr. Sol Miller for reading painstakingly through more than one version of the manuscript and for suggesting numerous improvements and providing fresh insights. I am of course quite pleased that Professor Steward consented to write the Foreword.

To the members of the Editorial Board of the University of Illinois monograph series in anthropology, Professors J. Casagrande, C. Osgood, and J. Russell, I express thanks for many excellent suggestions concerning organization and style.

122 Finally, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made research among the Mapuche possible.

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Part One

THE ECOLOGICAL BASIS OF MAPUCHE SOCIETY

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1

Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean [17]
society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement [645]
on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory.
Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which rippled
throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the [128]
more significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total
physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to
survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more [3]
than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central [4]
Chile known as the Frontera or Araucania (see Map I). Well over [62]
half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the
heart of the indigenous area.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which [101]

[1] Information kindly supplied by the Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Cisterna Salazar, from an official report dated October 11, 1955, states that as of that date there were 2,900 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the Juzgados of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 526,826.48 hectares. Approximately 1,900 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 350,000 hectares.

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A
101 in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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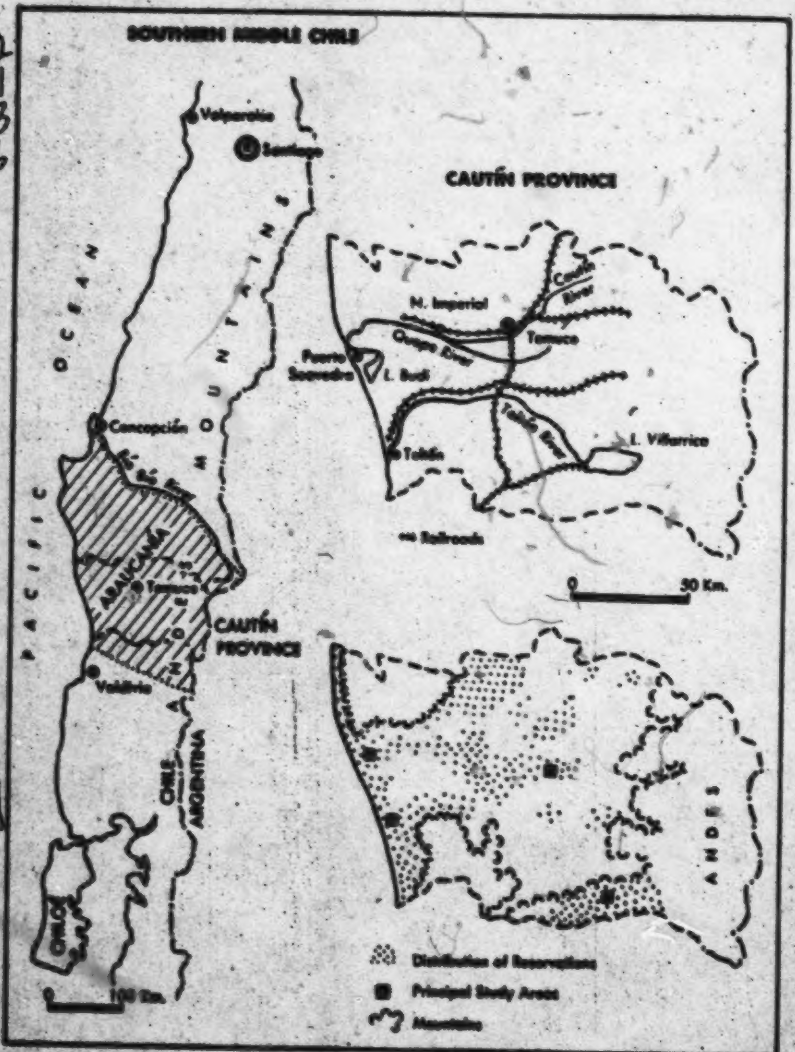
SOUTHERN MIDDLE CHILE
Valparaíso
Santiago
PACIFIC OCEAN
ANDES MOUNTAINS
Concepción
Bío Bío River
ARAUCANÍA
Temuco
CAUTÍN PROVINCE
Valdivia
CHILE
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Quepe River
Puerto Saavedra
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Toltén
Toltén River
L. Villarrica
Railroads
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30 Km.
ANDES
Distribution of Reservations
Principal Study Areas
Mountains

Map I

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the [133 state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three [131] major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the [137] larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization [167] by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and [731] cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and [487] one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going [484] to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the [241] foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, [233] cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, [311] although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, [233] but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few [131] colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but [131] there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production [241] and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large [137] number of cattle. [233]

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the [134] valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

There
A
133 are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous
[487] hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains,
B
[496] especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the
C two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad
A runs.

132 The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes
C and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central
A Valley and along the coast.

131 The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found
162 in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and
towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found
A in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest
648 displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk
as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the
fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its
importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society
A after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

361 Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the
C capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial
361 center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many
C. schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-
A processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

[496] The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought
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from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

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Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

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Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[2]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

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[2] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:299–307.

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648 tive raids and slaving parties. Many captives were put to work on
175 Spanish estates in the north, women were distributed as concubines,
[167] several epidemics swept the land, and untold thousands of Mapuche
migrated to Argentina. But Mapuche independence was maintained
until late in the nineteenth century. Part of the price for independ-
A ence was social upheaval and population dispersion at the local-group
[166] level of Mapuche society, and the long colonial era was char-
[721] acterized by continual guerrilla warfare, occasional general uprisings,
and gradual loss of territory (Faron, 1956).

Chilean independence from Spain in 1818 awakened national in-
A terest in the further colonization of the indigenous zone. The new
648 government, however, expressed an interest in protecting the Ma-
175 puche from the worst evils of contact through legislation designed
C to prevent the unauthorized alienation of their land. Government
563 decrees of this period were also aimed at curtailing the activities of
175 speculators with an eye to settling Araucanía with resident farmers
and establishing numerous towns which would service the rural areas.
It was further intended that the Mapuche should eventually abandon
their native way of life and seek employment in the towns and on
the haciendas which were being established in their territory; the gov-
ernment desired to utilize both the land and the labor of the Indians.
In large part, the policy was unsuccessful. Although the Mapuche
relinquished a good deal of land to the colonists, they did not come
A to form the rural proletariat envisioned by the Chilean landed class.
[166] Instead, there was a great dispersal of the native population through-
[169] out Araucanía and large-scale migration across the Andes into Ar-
C gentina.[3]

[167] By the middle of the nineteenth century white colonization received
A a new impulse from European immigration. Encroachments on their
[721] territory aroused the Mapuche and resulted in an intensification of
guerrilla raiding. The Chilean government attempted to foster colo-
nization through the institution of the reservation policy of 1866,
which allowed Mapuche leaders to apply for large grants of reserva-
tion land, but at the same time provided a mechanism for the gradual
abandonment of reservation living.[4] Meanwhile, unclaimed land was
to be sold to settlers.

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[3] See Cooper, 1946:690 *et passim*; Canals Frau, 1946:761–66, for discussion and bibliographies.

[4] This mechanism was the policy of *división*, whereby reservation inhabitants could vote to give up reservation status.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4 Mapuche
Chile SG1

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After 1866 tremendous pressure was exerted against the Mapuche by white colonists. Huge tracts of land were taken from them along the Bío Bío River, along the coast south of Concepción, and in a vast area near and south of the town of Valdivia. The Mapuche responded by staging a large-scale rebellion in 1869–70, in which they were defeated and their population further dispersed and disrupted. Peace ensued for less than a decade. The final large-scale Mapuche revolt came in 1880 and lasted for about two years. Again, peace was established, but the military power and political autonomy of the Mapuche were lost. Great population flux characterized the decade or so after 1884, during the establishment of the present reservation system. The exodus to Argentina assumed proportions greater than ever before. The Mapuchewho remained in Chile, although restive under defeat and a harsh peace, were willing to accept the protection of the reservation system, the basis for present-day Mapuche society.

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Because of their sizable and increasing population, the Mapuche continue to present a problem of assimilation to the Chilean government. On the regional level of intersocietal relationships there has long been conflict between white Chileans and reservation Mapuche in many spheres of activity. The Mapuche regard most Chileans with distrust, suspecting many of them of practicing sorcery to gain their ends. Short of this, Chileans are felt to be unscrupulous merchants and land grabbers who are unjustly protected by the law. Most Chileans regard the Mapuche as hopelessly ignorant, shiftless, and lazy. This situation is aggravated by the fact that Mapuche reservations occupy some of the most desirable farming and cattle-raising land in this part of Chile — land coveted by white settlers, who complain that the reservations surround them like a "ring of iron," preventing their expansion. Merchantsand bankers in the towns echo this complaint, since their profits depend on the agrarian production of the Frontera. The government is desirous that the land be exploited by the best agricultural methods, and regards the Mapuche as a stumbling block to the improvements strategic white colonization would bring. These attitudes are translated into "pressures" on Mapuche society. They are part of the ecological adaptation made by both Chileans and Mapuche in the Frontera.

2

The Agrarian Setting

A 177 Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A 241 960 A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the allotment and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

A 648 E 166 A 131 With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1880-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1891 the central rail-

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[1] Reference to Map I will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG-1

road reached Temuco, a decade or so after parts of Cautín Province A 648
had been divided up into small *parcelas* and larger *fundos*. Govern- C
ment agencies such as the *Caja de Colonización* and the *Ministerio de* [766]
Tierras y Colonización, along with a number of private companies
and banks, have continued to encourage white settlement in Cautín
Province. In the process, much Mapuche land has been lost, both
through intricate legal negotiations and outright usurpation. The C
result has been that the farmlands of Cautín Province are today [311]
carved up into *fundos* (large holdings), *parcelas* or *hijuelas* (small A
holdings), and Mapuche reservations, which vary greatly in size so [131]
that some are smaller than *parcelas*, others larger than *fundos*. Many
of the small land grants have since been incorporated into large farms
through *latifundismo*. C

Fundo production varies according to the type of land involved 311
and the region in which it is situated. Hilly land is more often grazed
than farmed, although cultivation is practiced in sections of *fundos*
where the topography is rough enough to preclude mechanization,
thus *funderos* bring marginal land under cultivation in much the C
same way *parceleros* and reservation Indians farm. Wooded sections
are cleared of trees with a view to using the land for pasture, and with [185]
little regard for the conservation of timberland.

The major fields of a *fundo* are much larger than those of a *parce-* C
lero or Mapuche farmer, sometimes equaling or surpassing the total 241
cultivated acreage of the smaller reservations. These are planted
mainly in wheat and oats, with the smaller fields in rougher terrain
being sown to clover and other pasturage and soil-restorative crops
such as lupine.

The *fundos* in the Mapuche area differ somewhat from those to the north and south. The rotation of crops and fields is similar to that practiced by the smaller Chilean farmers and reservation Mapuche. But the *fundo* in this region is usually highly mechanized compared to the *parcela* or reservation, and generally has a tractor, harvester or combine, threshing equipment, discs, drills, and so forth. Larger *fundos* may have in addition a flour mill and, in the Andean or coastal regions, lumbering equipment. The *fundo* owner or operator nearly always has a truck to take some of his produce to market.

The owner may spend most of his time in Temuco or another city,
leaving the operation of the *fundo* to an administrator who lives on A
the land with his family. The labor force of a *fundo* may be composed C
of both Chileans and Mapuche, many of the latter being only tem- [464]

C 241 porary personnel from nearby reservations who work during the
busy seasons for cash and who do not reside on the *fundo*. In addition,
E [464] the labor complement may be increased seasonally by migratory
laborers who travel through large parts of Chile, gearing their movements to the regional maturation of various crops.

Fundos have a great amount of self-sufficiency, producing a diversity of food crops and meat. However, they characteristically produce a surplus for the market, the sale of their products supporting both the owner and the administrator, besides providing cash for wage laborers.

Parcelas are small, usually owner-operated farms of less than
C [311] 200 hectares. Although *parceleros* are often in fact subsistence
farmers, their goal is to produce marketable surpluses. They have
C [242] several large fields which are rotated in wheat, oats, barley, and, in
many instances, potatoes, peas, beans, and other *chacarería*.[2] This is comparable to the operation of a *fundo*. Like the Mapuche, however, the parceleros are often in a dependent relationship to the *fundos*, sometimes working on them for wages and often renting their agricultural machinery. The *parceleros* are operators of family farms and
generally do not employ hired labor. Like the Mapuche, they some-
A C [476] times engage in cooperative labor (*mingaco*) with their neighbors
during times of peak agricultural activity.

The agricultural production of Cautín Province is characterized by
C 433 extensive cultivation of cereal crops and *chacarería*, and by cattle
and sheep raising. The over-all contribution to the total national output is considerable, especially in wheat, peas, oats, and cattle.[3]

Production indexes, nevertheless, show that there has been no appreciable increase in output over the past twenty years (1930–50), even though more efficient farm machinery and more technical information have been made available. Improvements have been made in roads and transportation generally, and greater control over crop and animal diseases effected. Actually, if the averages for the first five years of the above-mentioned twenty-year period (1930-34) and the last five years (1946-50) are compared for wheat production, it is

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C [243] [244] [2] *Chacarería* includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops.

C [127] [3] Much of the following information was obtained with the kind assistance of the Provincial Agronomist, Señor Enrique Riveros, and through the cooperation of *fundo* owners and *parceleros* in Cautín Province. Statistical data come from government publications, especially *Memoria annual del servicio provincial de Cautín*, Santiago, 1951.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG-1

C 433

seen that both the area planted and the annual volume of the harvest have increased about 7.5 per cent, while the returns per unit have diminished about 0.3 per cent. According to government statistics for 1950-51, the number of hectares in Cautín Province planted in wheat was 153,765, an estimate which includes Mapuche reservations. Many Chilean farmers see the acquisition of Mapuche-held land as one solution to the problem of production.

A C 241

Despite serious erosion, the soils are moderately fertile and offer possibilities for increased production, provided organic matter is conserved. Aside from the larger *fundos,* there is little use made of lime phosphate or other fertilizers, even among the Chilean population. Dry farming predominates in the province, although there is some small-scale irrigation on certain *fundos.*

A C 242

In general, a combination of field and crop rotation is practiced in a simple, if not haphazard, way. Crop rotation usually consists of one planting of wheat in newly plowed fallow land, the preparation of which begins during the third year of rest, followed by a season of oats and a season of potatoes or a leguminous crop. It is frequently the practice to sow oats a short time after the wheat harvest, in the same field, without further preparation of the soil than the necessary plowing and, perhaps, the burning off of wheat stubble. When *chacareria*[$] is used in the rotation, it is customary to employ it at the beginning of the three-year cycle. On many *fundos,* the cycle is initiated with clover or other pasturage. However, it is not uncommon to plant successive crops of wheat in the same fields when the land is scarce. This is not undertaken on *fundos* unless fertilizer is used, but the Mapuche and most *parceleros* do not fertilize their fields and, if they do not rotate either crop or field, they obtain extremely poor harvests.

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The short duration of fallow periods and the repeated growing of gramineous cereals, to the near exclusion of other species and of leguminous plants, are especially defective aspects of habitual rotation. Chileans who rent land on a temporary basis or farm *parcelas* with the intention of making a quick profit seek only the immediate benefits of the soil and are heedless of conservation through scientific rotation and fertilization. Although the Mapuche farm in this unsatisfactory manner, their motives are different. Nevertheless, the consequences of inadequate technology are the same and may be seen in the loss of soil fertility, erosion of the topsoil, development of veritable playas in the fields, spread of parasitic diseases, and the contingent

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[$] [Chacareria includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops — ANALYST]

A C 242 decrease in productivity. In turn, of course, the poor output results in higher prices for seeds, flour, and other products.

A C 241 The expenditure of labor needed to prepare the soil is not great. No exceptional traction is required, and generally a 20-centimeter depth of pulverization is sufficient. In effect, this means that disc plowing and other operations could be performed adequately with ox traction. The only exception to this occurs near the coast, where there are still large stands of trees.

For cereals, a field might receive from one to three plowings. *Chacareria*, especially potatoes, requires more effort; labor is performed with greater care. In red-clay soils, fields are prepared (*barbecho*) in August and September; in loamy soil preparation may take place in October, November, and even December. For the rest of the agricultural work, the season is largely optional, depending on weather conditions.

About 60 per cent of the arable land in Cautín Province is at present planted annually by machine. This indicates a great increase in the use of tractors and seeding equipment among the large landowners and those who depend upon them for the rental of farm equipment.

A C 243 Of all crops grown, wheat is the most important and accounts for about three-fourths of the land cultivated annually. Winter wheat predominates over spring wheat in a ratio of 15:1. Winter varieties are planted in April-May and into July. About half the wheat is sown broadcast, and the quantity of seed used fluctuates between a maximum of about 180 kilograms per hectare to a minimum of 120. Returns per hectare vary between 6 and 25 metric quintals (a metric quintal equals 100 kilograms), averaging 10. The Mapuche tend to A [433] sow less seed per hectare (between 90 and 100 kilograms) and have sparser harvests.

A C [433] Oats follow wheat in importance, their average yield being about 8 metric quintals per hectare. Barley and rye are also grown, with apparently favorable results in areas not well suited for wheat, but the amount is too small to have an appreciable effect on the trend in farm production.

A C [244] Harvesting begins in the first half of January if the fields are dry. Oats are generally harvested first, wheat next along with linseed, and then lentils, peas, and potatoes. The season ends in May. More than 40 per cent of the cereal crop is harvested entirely by machine, the

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rest by combined machine and manual labor. Potato harvesting is completely manual.

Among *chacarería*, potatoes and peas are of greatest importance, potatoes being grown on about one-third of the area set aside for *chacarería* annually. For the three to five years preceding 1953, however, the province suffered from a severe potato blight (*tizón*) which greatly reduced output.

Depending on the topography, potatoes are cultivated in two ways. The hillsides and sloping ground are sown early (*tempranera*), while the lowlands, being more humid, are sown late (*tardía*). *Tempranera* takes place in August and on a limited scale; it is destined for immediate local consumption. *Tardía*, which is sown between October and December, forms part of the harvest that finds its way to the market with the rest of the national agricultural product.

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Peas also account for about one-third of the land set aside for *chacarería* and, like potatoes, are sown *tempranera* and *tardía*. On the higher ground, wheat is generally sown in the same fields from which peas have been harvested. Among more technologically advanced Chileans, the land is fertilized before wheat is planted; but it is commonly thought that the mere change from peas to wheat is sufficient to insure adequate growth.

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An estimated 14 per cent of the total agricultural land is given over to pasture during periods of fallow. This is the sort of grazing land called *pasto natural*. Total natural pasturage, including uncultivable land such as Andean valleys, woodlands, wet lowlands, and so forth, is about 640,000 hectares, or about a third of the area of Cautín Province. Only 180,000 hectares represent sown pasturage.

Improvement of pasturage is one of the more important problems facing Chilean farmers. The number of livestock is diminishing; erosion is ruining overgrazed fallow land which could be sown in grass or clover; soil depletion is limiting the quantity and quality of *pasto natural*. Furthermore, the availability of natural pasture varies seasonally. It is fairly abundant in spring and early summer, scarce in the dry part of summer and autumn, and almost nonexistent in some regions in winter. This type of pasture is able to support about five cows per hectare annually, according to government calculations which seem to be optimal. Meat and wool production is poor; mange is prevalent but neglected. All animals suffer from pests for which they receive inadequate treatment.

RESERVATIONS

175 It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche
433 were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that
222 their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they
[231] utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of
variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

241 Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants
177 which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile.
Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory
[361] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggre-
gates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled
[433] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, de-
[262] pending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep,
llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[462] In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

ness and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, 241
women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to [177]
this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation [462]
of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the
highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens [242]
and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery,
and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox 241
traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows 407
(*astas de cabo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, [492]
if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel [184]
plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the tech- 241
nique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds 492
for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and 241
a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of 461
land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, 241
the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to
broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The [407]
triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be

241 used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now
[407] somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing
(and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations
are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean
zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally
prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

[224] If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho*
may take place in the spring (October-November), when the
soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate
postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It
is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and
[372] brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and
night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings
and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de*
[231] *paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff
is considered inferior fodder.

132 For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed
241 by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has
to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather.
[221] According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June
(around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before
the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain
extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but
the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

439 Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in
243 March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions,
[221] and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio
[433] of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as
[262] food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If
[231] too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the
harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat,
which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*,
rébano, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld
from market.

241 Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture
[273] of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills,
where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and
cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by 241
Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near
Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for [939]
sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato 131
blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the res- 244
ervation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of [262]
great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche
living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have [243]
been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to com- 243
bine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every 407
Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is
rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when [427]
provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an [248]
Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for
harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by [427]
fundo owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery 243
among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears 407
a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an 433
individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price [177]
seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately [427]
regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

243 amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for [409] the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would [433] have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of 244 wheat harvested. *Chacareria* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested – most often by [460] women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

233 It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep 554 in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former [262] aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

236 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their [262] wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At 236 shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a tra- 232 ditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

231 441 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the 231
Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold [432]
for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least [262]
one part of Araucania (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used [782]
as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in 262 greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are 231
certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before [illegible]
cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed [262]
only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure 233
and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow [231]
fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally [232]
effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals [231]
will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In 311
terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land [248]
they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. *Since* [167]
the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

[241] From the foregoing account it is clear that the Mapuche and their present neighbors approximate one another in the area of agricultural technology and, to some extent, production goals. Technological adjustments have had their effect on economic organization on the reservations but, in themselves, have not brought about basic changes in the economic structure. The new technology is merely permissive of economic change. The fact that the Mapuche and their Chilean neighbors may be said to use some of the same tools for like purposes does not make them socially similar, nor does the fact that the Mapuche are in some respects economically dependent on Chileans. But the reallocation of land under the reservation program is a [423] change of a different order. Land available to the Mapuche is quite limited, whereas it was formerly almost unlimited. Today, the Mapuche are perhaps less concerned with the defense of their ancestral territory than with the preservation of their individual fields. To hold onto their fields and make them provide for family needs, Mapuche farmers have made a number of modifications in their economic activities, one of which has been the adoption of a new technology. [177] Rather than hold that this adjustment is an indication of breakdown or social disintegration, it is possible to say that the accommodation has enabled the Mapuche to maintain their cultural and social integrity during three-quarters of a century since the establishment of the reservation system.

3

Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche. 423 421 [622]

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recognized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands. {421 423} [622]

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements – in effect, different social and economic structures – there was some land on all reservations which the residents 311 423 [622]

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did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

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Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual – compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province – will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

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This is a heavily populated area which lies about 10 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *Inalmawidha* (around of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *Inalmawidha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

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RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alempaño	313	134	c. 4 ha.
Nerol	110	26	c. 4 ha.
Lemuno	120	34	c. 4 ha.
Munture	300	100	c. 3 ha.

Pelahue

C
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This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelahue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

C
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gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

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RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	295	54	c. 5.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	c. 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	c. 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	c. 2 ha.

Villarrica

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[361]

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

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RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	c. 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	c. 5.5 ha.
Caripan	885	39	c. 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	c. 14.7 ha.

Huapi

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[361]

The [illegible] g reservations are among those situated on Huapi [illegible] ke Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, [illegible] is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

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C
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the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

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RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

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[161]

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in

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[169]

the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

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If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allot-

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[167]

ment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to

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[621]

farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

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Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed

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later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance

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[427]

of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

farmer is concerned, this amounts to a rotation of fields by reservation. 423
Various arrangements are worked out for the distribution of the harvests or other gain from these distant holdings with the relatives involved. 241 For example, if a man has inherited some land on his mother's natal reservation which is quite distant from his own, say a day's travel, he will not ordinarily use his own animals and plow, or even his own seed, in preparing and planting these fields. His maternal relatives will assist him and will generally obtain half of the harvest for their trouble. But these are atypical arrangements.

Except for reservations situated on the most favorable agricultural 311
lands in the Central Valley, there is generally a good deal of variation in quality of land within any reservation, as well as regional differences between reservations. Land might be classified in three ways: *altura*, the driest and best for wheat cultivation; *baja*, low and moist, not well suited for wheat but good for barley and potatoes; and *vega*, swampy ground of little agricultural value, except for occasional plantings of potatoes in drier years. *Vega* is generally used for pasture. These differences may be found on most reservations but, on balance, they may also serve to differentiate one reservation from another. One reservation, for example Alonqueo, may be largely *altura*, whereas another, say Llancaman or Maripan, may have large sections of *vega*. In the sub-Andean region one encounters much hilly land, dry but [133]
too precipitous even for the use of ox-drawn plows, and many low and poorly drained areas which are, however, occasionally planted in potatoes.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region

Most of the 513 hectares of Alonqueo is utilized for cereal crops and 241
chacarería (vegetables, both field and garden crops), there being little 311
woodland or marshy wastes. Substandard land is cultivated, nevertheless, and the quality of family holdings varies somewhat. According to the general practice on reservations in the region an attempt is made to allow about two-thirds of the agricultural land to rest after each harvest, provided sufficient crops can be taken from the remaining third or another arrangement can be made to work additional land. During this fallow period fields are customarily grazed by oxen, cows, horses, and sheep and are ranged over by fowl and pigs. They are not planted in grass or soil-restorative plants.

A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded OCD

311 313 [241] [439] [314] A good part of the land now in the confines of Alonqueo was wooded with oak trees (*robles*) about sixty years ago, and the area farmed was considerably smaller than it has been for the past generation. Now trees are scarce and the smaller second growth is continually being used for firewood. The nearby hills are largely denuded of first growth. Most of the timber was cleared commercially to meet construction needs, much going into the building of Temuco, which was founded in 1881. Trees continued to be cut by *fundo* owners and *parceleros* for sale and for building their homesteads, and even the more enterprising Mapuche hauled timber to town for sale. The Mapuche still exploit the remaining heavy growth for the manufacture of charcoal and cut the small trees for firewood, which they sell to Chileans in the rural and urban areas. Timber, however, is no longer a local resource.

Up until 1948 large parts of the region were covered by a thick growth of *colihue* or bamboo (*Chusquea cummingii*), the slender canes of which were used in house and fence construction, as well as for firewood. A blight killed off most of the *colihue* in Cautín Province. The dead stands were rapidly used up as firewood, and land was thereby cleared for agriculture.

311 [137] [241] The denuded fields in the immediate area of Temuco contrast sharply with the woodlands described in the first decade of this century (cf. Bullock, 1911). Today, slash-and-burn clearing is sporadic and infrequent, occurring mostly on the substandard land — the hillsides or marshy wooded sections along streams and rivers.

[133] [133] [423] In the Roble Huacho region and similar areas of the Central Valley, little land remains uncultivated. Animals are pastured on their owner's fallow fields or, by agreement, on those of neighbors. Along the coast, where there is a good deal of uncleared, swampy, or otherwise unsuitable land for agriculture, large sections of reservations are not farmed. Here communal grazing areas and woodlands are found. The general region around the town of Toltén, for example, is quite similar in appearance to Bullock's earlier description of the Temuco region 70 or 80 kilometers to the north.

[133] [134] [242] [433] Alonqueo, like most other reservations in the Roble Huacho region, is relatively flat and therefore easily worked and harvested. Soil erosion, down to the subsoil in many places, is a serious problem which, however, is not too well recognized as such by the majority of the residents. The Mapuche are like the Chilean peasants in their lack of understanding and ability to cope with the situation. There is a general feeling that modern machinery, better-quality seed, and

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining pro- 242
duction, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively un- 433
attainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper 311
application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enrich-
ing legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance
of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern
technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining
topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy
winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry [134]
summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for
wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unreal- 433
istic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, gener- 241
ally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests
vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and con-
centration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture 311
land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare [233]
after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals
owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to
enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the
corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, [241]
but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no 621
longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving
members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land
should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a [162]
resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultiva- [311]
tion. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses. [231]

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and 311
farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of
the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see
Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common
grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road [361]
now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land
was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that
returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants,
and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems re- [262]
lated to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older
people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted [433]

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[622]

in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades. Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, largely through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucania is that land becomes

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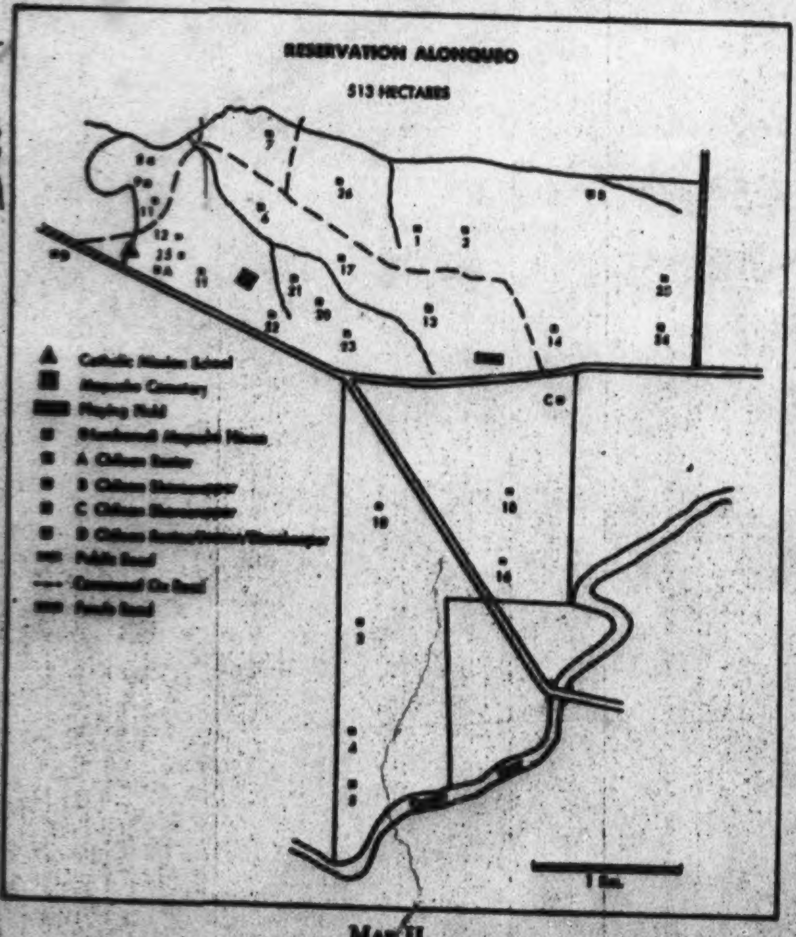
RESERVATION ALONQUEO
513 HECTARES
Catholic Mission School
Mapuche Cemetery
Playing Field
Numbered Mapuche House
A Chilean Renter
B Chilean Sharecropper
C Chilean Sharecropper
D Chilean Renter/Settler/Sharecropper
Public Road
Communal Ox Road
Family Road
1 km.

MAP II

fragmented to the point where some members of the landholding 423
group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, [622]
chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alon-
queo, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation sys-
tem in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" resi- [591]
dence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonqueo has held [622]
together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an [592]
inquilino (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average
family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership [178]
of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant
de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated [181]
mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribu- [241]
tion of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the 556
interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various
radicados makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hec-
tares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising
of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attri-
butes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society.
One of the large landholders on Alonqueo, a man with 46 hectares, has [241]
to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow [427]
residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only [311]
about three hectares of wheat, and rents, works on a half-share basis,
or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the 233
largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since [439]
they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice [262]
meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there
is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the [181]
Mapuche. The flocks increase about 100 per cent each year, but since [556]
many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are con-
sumed, the average number remains about the same year after year.
No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 463
sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonqueo are more than enough to
provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reserva- 311
tion Llancaman. Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are [114]

Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are
31 [896] cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura,* but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. 241 [242] On Llancaman and in the Toltén region as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura.* In the *baja,* potatoes [134] and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the [131] principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast, [439] there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market. 241 433 Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

231 [922] The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep, in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

241 [233] [262] A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before the *radicación,* cattle and sheep were far more important than crops in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería,* and almost no barley grown. [222] [226] Many wild plants were gathered. Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the 361
time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement
pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally,
there were eight households situated near the Toltén River [491]
along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a [622]
single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from
the other houses — that of the original chief. All houses were built on [241]
altura land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. 311
Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation [796]
limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding [313]
agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, [314]
the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in [439]
the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently [241]
used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in
this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of
this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part
represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new
households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation,[2] double the 162
original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to [161]
82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families.
The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time 423
of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned)
now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a
little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual — less
than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale 311
clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished
without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although [423]
there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared
on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright
enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases
and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that
all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually
be put under production. One way this could happen is through [648]
government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps
and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made
with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason
for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[2] [i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

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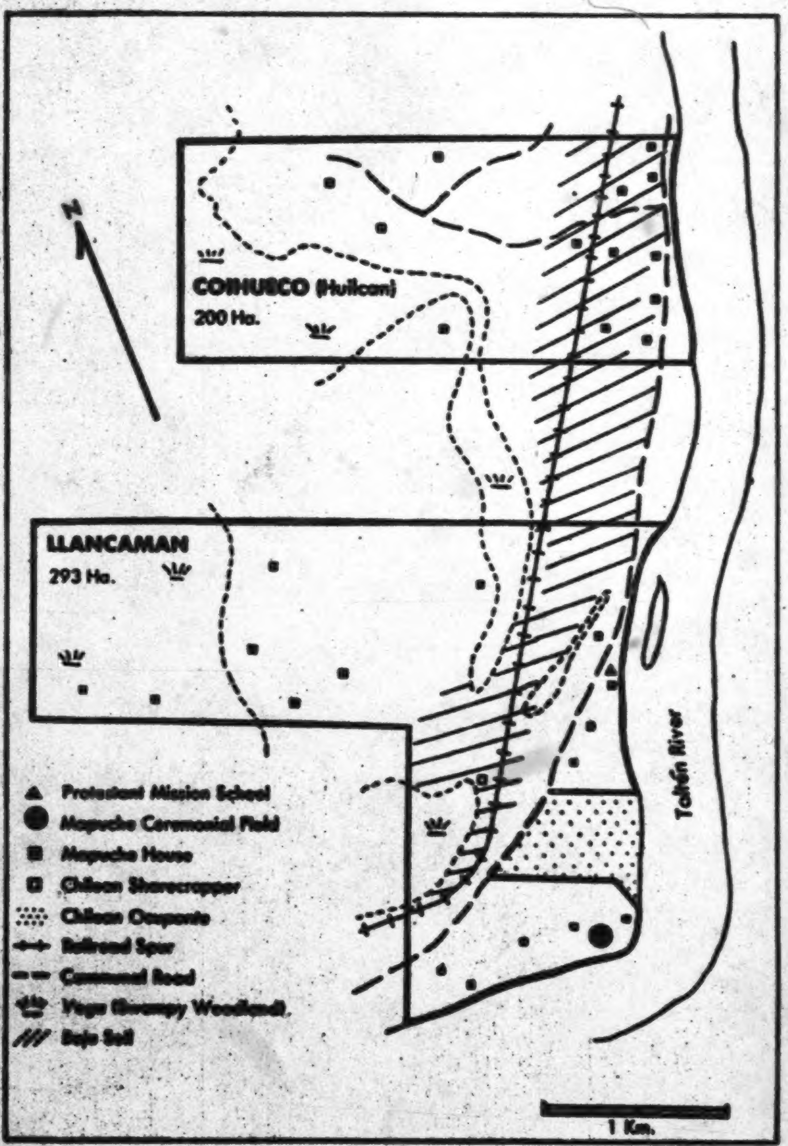
N
COIHUECO (Huilcan)
200 Ha.
LLANCAMAN
293 Ha.
Toltén River
▲ Protestant Mission School
● Mapuche Ceremonial Field
■ Mapuche House
□ Chilean Sharecropper
Chilean Ocupante
Railroad Spur
Communal Road
Vega (Swampy Woodland)
Bajo Soil
1 Km.

MAP III

[p. 36]

and hire skilled labor to operate it. Another reason is that, by and 311
large, the local Chilean farmers would prefer to see the Mapuche 648
lose rather than improve their land.

The notion of private ownership of land seems less strongly de- 423
veloped on Llancaman and some of the other reservations in the Pelehue region than in Roble Huacho. Pelehue Indians had some difficulty estimating the amount of land they farmed, although they knew how much had been "apportioned" to each of the original *radicados* at the time the reservation was established. They spoke of "having" so-and-so many hectares and "occupying" so-and-so many additional hectares. The latter they had cleared and put under cultivation, but they did not speak of it as their private property in the way the people of the Roble Huacho region did. Inhabitants of Alonqueo, for example, not only are able to state just how many hectares they "own" themselves, but are also able to give the exact amount in the hands of the other residents.

The existence of common land permits individuals to accumulate [233]
as many animals as they are able, since there is adequate grazing land
by Mapuche standards. Half-sharing in animals (see pp. 58–62 for [427]
a clarification of the half-share system) is common in the Pelehue region. There is a shortage of good-quality pasture, but there are no restrictions on using what is available. There is little or no concern with overgrazing, since many low pastures remain green throughout
the year. According to Mapuche estimates, a cow or ox needs about [233]
five hectares of grazing land, a horse somewhat more than this, and
a sheep less.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region

Huilcan is separated from Llancaman by a Chilean *parcela* owned 311
and operated by a family of white farmers. The land of both Llancaman and Huilcan is approximately of the same quality, being divided [133]
among *vega* (swamp), *baja* (lowland), and *altura* (high and relatively dry land). Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are under cultivation. More than one-third of the reservation is uncleared land or *vega*, some of which could be cleared, drained, and otherwise
improved to support both farming and grazing. Part of the woodland [314]
is being exploited by local residents for the manufacture of charcoal, [622]
with the approval of the chief.

As on Llancaman and the general region around Toltén, there [242]
is greater emphasis on rotation of crops than fields, as compared with

311 the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of
[242] fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more
of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow
fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan
[24 than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations
[433] along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman,
and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging
better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little
land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants
throughout the year.

311 Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely
731 the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what
244 I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most
433 of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a
total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves
[114] such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their
seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was
[648] received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since
1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently
[089] that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned
to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato
blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed
648 government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos
311 for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the
small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help – that is, with government machinery and skilled labor.
871 Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

311 For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land.* Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official. 311 423 622

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Llumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved. 423 [248] [563]

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high. 162 [592] [591] [423]

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands. 241 [133]

*[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[433] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields
seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage
is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the
rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[134] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[132] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant
amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently,
when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to
the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places,
if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The
area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty
years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche
families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén.
Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which
are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting
operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement
to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing
machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of
the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed
provided the roads are passable and the people are able to
cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo.* Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[731] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many
years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to
exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división.* The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[598] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences
and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed
the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[1] [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of imme- 423
diate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs 425
of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using [578]
some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de* [691]
Indios in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reserva- 476
tions. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this [241]
is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value [182]
for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place.
Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief ex- [622]
ercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the 121
anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be 476
like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements
on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. 182
Mingaco is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early litera- 476
ture, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and
"feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, [574]
described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the
participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today [177]
among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural
Chileans in some sectors of the country.

241 476 [621] [622] [203] Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as
[462] well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening
[262] [273] meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

[221] [222] [431] Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household *upon request* (cf. Moesbach, 1936:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and 241
from informants who describe the situation which existed less than 476
three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from 622
members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his [431]
contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest [621]
that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by 241
smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, 476
but generally involve several of the most closely related families on [621]
the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing [178]
to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since
a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work. [464]

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of 476
it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in 622
the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to 613
find all members of a large residential group or reservation commu- [621]
nity performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

476 [622] [613] with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I [591] [614] lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

476 177 [427] [423] The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working [427] *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

476 [241] *Mingacos* are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under [491] [622] [623] the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

the family heads and adult sons are *involved*, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. Housebuilding, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the mingaco serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, mingaco may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [335]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [273] [578] [754]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

476 241 [574] (murke) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

476 242 [491] [241] [242] Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

243 [476] [529] Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucania machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to [246] haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region [242] machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples [535] dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifilka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

476 241 [571] [813] *Mingacos* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucania. They are characteristically made up of

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include 476
larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road [241]
repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organ- [613]
izing mingaco may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that [624]
mingaco expresses the feeling of solidarity among constituents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather 476
than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the 622
household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or [491]
widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to
lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribu-
tion such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done.
If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or main-
taining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the [574]
workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed.
In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even
though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, en- [564]
hances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship [621]
which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that 476
engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads 613
are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these [621]
multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large
mingaco groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller.
Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, [241]
the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, [342]
such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally [241]
protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organ-
ization different from mingaco. However, when the protracted task is [574]
completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking [273]
bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of
land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small
labor force might not be able to fell, cut, and haul the trees into
place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time
during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion
of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As [342]
mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construc-
tion is generally done before the large rukan or housebuilding minga-
co is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting [335]
and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

342 476 613 335 might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

241 476 Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacareria* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

476 613 The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

476 [241] Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricultural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there 496 might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males [613] of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or [608] *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of [571] most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, [572] simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different [628] reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is as- 464 sociated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes 241 hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than [177] the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are [465] paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche [556] can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community — a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other [156] arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean [648] *torreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

464 241 [648] only by Mapuche who have very large holdings. The paid crews that work the harvesting and threshing machinery of the Chilean entrepreneur are composed of both Mapuche and Chileans, who accompany the machines in their slow peregrinations throughout the rural districts surrounding the towns.

243 427 [409] Mechanization has taken hold in the reservation areas. All the larger and better-equipped *fundos* have harvesting and threshing machinery for hire and there are harvesters and mobile threshers that make a tour of the countryside wherever the roads permit. As the wheat and oats ripen, the machines are already busy in the more favored parts of the Central Valley. The Mapuche await them as they pass from one reservation to the next, with a feeling of exuberant expectancy. It is common for a man to walk a mile or more to watch the machine harvest the first fields in the vicinity and to examine the thresher carefully even when it is not in operation.

Eventually the harvester reaches one's fields. It is manned by a single operator and drawn by a double yoke of oxen, also owned by [409] the entrepreneur. Part of the equipment consists of high, cribbed carts, also ox-drawn, which are pulled alongside the harvester to receive the wheat as it is pulled up the conveyer belt.

The Indians themselves provide the animals which draw these carts and they participate in the labor, inasmuch as they guide the carts and pitch the wheat into a huge pile where it stands until threshing [976] time. This operation is often done on a *vuelta mano* basis, since a single family seldom has sufficient oxen for the work.

[465] The machine operator is not paid by the owner of the crop immediately after his work is done, since payment is made in bags of grain and must await threshing. The family, however, invites him to a meal after his work is finished.

[409] Soon the thresher comes, pulled by a tractor which is later used to power the drive wheel of the machine after it has been set up alongside the stack of wheat. The machine is generally operated by a trained crew of about half a dozen men who are supervised by the owner of the equipment or his representative. None of the local Indians assist with the threshing, there is no *vuelta mano*, and the fam- [461] ily itself has nothing to do except watch. *Murke* is set out for the [273] workers to drink while they are engaged in feeding the thresher. After the grain is threshed, the workers and the owner are generally [360] fed a good meal, possibly goose or pork, and are given a lot of *chicha* or *murke* to drink. After the workers have moved on, the family con-

tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the 243 427
night.

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner [465]
of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2
per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche 243
can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are
compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate
operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh
the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively [476]
eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, [574]
nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of com- 243
munity-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent 182
times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the
larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and [622]
the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being [621]
bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured 422
in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional
possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used [428]
by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal
inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed
of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines 423
will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices *per se*.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the 423
reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights 177
and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

423 177 tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

[648] A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] *It is true enough that* a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

423 Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

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[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[14] [2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. 162 McBride, 1936, listed 1,908; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,102 (probably including 361] those reservations being considered for *división*).

evenly distributed, *división* is more often sought – by the have-nots. 423
Factionalism implements *división* in some cases (as on Nahuelpan
and Alonqueo), and this may be largely aside from considerations of
land.

On Alonqueo the concept of land rights and the emotional quality involved in land ownership differ significantly from Llancaman and Huilcan. On Alonqueo most people, including women and older children, are able to state exactly how much land their household "owns" (although land is not held under severalty title, petition has been made for *división)* and also how much other families "own."

On Llancaman each person knows how much land he "holds," and this knowledge is based on the awareness that one's father, through original registration or inheritance, has a right to five or so hectares. A man estimates that he also "occupies" so-and-so many additional hectares of onetime common land which he has cleared or otherwise improved. He does not speak of this land as his property, however, in the same way he does of the five or so hectares he has inherited.

On Huilcan, where even less land is utilized for agriculture, scarcely a person speaks in terms of owning land, although, like their neighbors on Llancaman, they too have "rights" over a certain percentage of land allotted to original registrants and passed along through inheritance. They "occupy" all the land they use. They realize that they would have special claim to land they work and that they would exercise such claim at the time of *división*, but they do not think in terms of "ownership." They do not know, furthermore, how much land other people on the reservation "occupy," and sometimes their estimates are very wide of the mark. Even in reference to one's own "occupied" land, measurement revealed numerous discrepancies.

Where they exist, notions of individual ownership of land tend to
crosscut traditional concepts based on the land rights of kingroups
above the level of the family. While this seems in some degree true [591]
for all reservations, it is most in evidence under the conditions stated [182]
above. Individual property concepts tend to correlate with the estab-
lishment of neolocal households. It is in this context that the [594]
elementary family is becoming somewhat isolated from the larger kin-
group in the economic sphere.

MARKETS AND CREDIT

The bulk of the Mapuche are only on the periphery of the regional 443
market and credit economy. Cash is scarce and credit difficult to ob- 452

443 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[452] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit
operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[439] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary
towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more fre-
quently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north
to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service
491 the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The
remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
487 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most
part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell
firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves
[433] are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood
in the towns.

439 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard
fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts
of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[185] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare sub-
sistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[177] (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which
represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women
[493] carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A
single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to
make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[437] pay *al contado,* or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for
small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very
few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche.
Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt
to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able
to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from
the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

quire if there are individuals who want to sell their standing crops. 452
This is the practice of buying *cosechas en yerba* and is especially per- 432
nicious. Mapuche who need cash, usually for the purchase of flour
or other food, and who have no other means of establishing credit,
offer their green crops for sale. They do this in the spring of the year,
when there is a general shortage – when even the reserves in town [433]
are low – but they are usually talked into selling their crops at a
low rate. If the harvest is poor, however, the Mapuche takes no additional loss.

The same procedure operates for the sale of unborn animals. Agents visit the Mapuche homesteads, look over the stock, and pay a price for a certain number of calves or sheep that will shortly be born. The Mapuche agrees to make good if the animals die, although it is often difficult for the agent to force the issue. There is room for sharp practice on both sides, although the Mapuche generally strikes a poorer bargain than the agent. Mapuche make these arrangements with *fundo* owners as well as with businessmen from town.

Credit at very reasonable rates of interest is sometimes made avail- 452
able to Mapuche through the government's *Caja de Crédito*. A Ma- 648
puche desirous of obtaining credit through this agency – for seeds –
contacts his local political representative. There are several Mapuche
Diputados in the national government who rely heavily on the good
will of the reservation Indians for election to office. If the *Diputado*
feels that the petitioning Mapuche is a good risk, a matter he is able [622]
to ascertain through personal contacts with the chief or another important individual of the man's reservation, he will vouch for the
Indian, who will then be able to get government credit. By way of
official proof requisite to obtaining both the support of the *Diputado*
and credit from the *Caja*, the Mapuche must secure a copy of the
original *título de merced* map signed by the archivist of reservation
records. If the loan is not repaid, the source of credit is closed, unless
there are important extenuating circumstances. Furthermore, pressure will be brought to bear on a recalcitrant Indian, or even on one
who is unable to repay because of a crop failure or other exigency, [622]
by the *Diputado* through the mediation of the chief.

Thus, in periods of general short supply (on the reservations and 452
in the towns), Mapuche tend to enter into debt for purchases of food [426]
and seed. The system has long been that of selling rights to standing
crops or to unborn animals. In this sort of negotiation the Mapuche
takes an immediate loss owing to market-cornering practices in a

452 credit system of which he is at best only dimly aware. The purchaser takes much less risk, since he pays less than the standing crops are worth and, should there be a poor harvest, could at least break even.

433 The Mapuche are finding it increasingly difficult to produce enough crops on their small holdings to maintain themselves. The [169] situation is serious enough for thousands of Mapuche to have abandoned reservation life entirely and sought their living elsewhere. Private ownership of land (through *división*) and individual initiative [148] have not generally been successful adaptations to this condition, since in areas where there is good farmland more efficient Chilean farmers have usually managed to buy out Mapuche freeholders once they were no longer protected by reservation law. For those remaining on the reservation, tight credit and scarce capital aggravate their difficulties. 427 433 The reservation Mapuche have attempted to solve their agrarian problem in three major ways. One, to which we will turn immediately, is renting of land to outsiders. Another is offering the use of land to tenant farmers. The third is the half-share system, whereby the Mapuche provides land and (usually) a Chilean provides labor and capital to exploit it.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: LAND RENTAL, TENANT FARMING, AND SHARECROPPING

427 Land Rental

Land may be rented on a contractual basis, the arrangements being [692] legalized before the *Juez de Indios*. Rental occurs rather infrequently. 427 It is uncommon for one Mapuche to rent land to another; rentals are 428 by and large to Chileans. However, the Mapuche are highly suspicious 423 of Chileans living on the reservation or controlling land there on a [086] contractual basis because a negotiation of this sort tends to perpetuate itself. The Indian court apparently regards with favor Chilean [692] farmers who have contracted to cultivate reservation land, and it is [675] difficult to eject them. Chileans who have *ocupante* status sometimes acquired their hold on a parcel of reservation land on a contract basis, the arrangements of which were perpetuated until the individual's claim became of sufficient *de facto* strength that the legal recognition of *ocupante* was attained.

Rentals tend to be made by absentees, although Mapuche who hold many hectares also resort to this practice. The absentee is often if not usually interested in having the reservation undergo *división* so that

he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to 427
whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the 648
reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might 423
obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete
surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason [156]
it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land.

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant 427
farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean 648
conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "land- [554]
lord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand.
As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their trans- [692]
action on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*.

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom
they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical [691]
framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land.

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: 427
those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well- [556]
to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing

427 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural
427 rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not
648 result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation.
[186] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively har-
[186] monious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong
[621] among the membership.

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

427 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a
496 further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While
[572] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources.
[454] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

In brief, the system works so that a person with land and without 427
the means or inclination to farm it makes an arrangement with another
individual to share the harvest in return for supplying seeds,
equipment, and most or all of the labor. Very often widows without [589]
grown sons arrange to have their fields worked in this manner, sometimes
also providing the seed, for which they receive a larger share of
the harvest. There is nothing inherent in the system itself which 648
brings Chileans and Mapuche into economic relationship, but nevertheless 427
the tendency is for most dealings between them to be in the
context of the *mediero* system. This is because the Chileans are generally
desirous of more land to farm and on which to pasture their animals.
Conversely, the Mapuche tend to be less well equipped to
cultivate all the land they hold and, where pasture is abundant, are
ready to take care of the Chilean's herds as well.

As the system extends to Chileans, the owner pastures his animals [233]
on reservation land, paying the Mapuche who cares for his herd with
one-half of the increase over a specified period of time. The same [314]
system also covers ventures such as charcoal manufacturing and other
extractive industries, but its most important implications for the
future are with regard to the Mapuche agrarian economy.

Half-share arrangements are sometimes perpetuated over many years. Such practices give the Chilean farmer a foothold in the community, but not on the same basis as rental or tenancy do. He is, however, often able to extend his operations in a number of sectors of the general region, entering into half-share arrangements on several reservations. Many Mapuche regard the system with satisfaction and feel that it is one avenue to economic salvation — a means of building up their herds and cropping their fields. But the system crosscuts traditional economic alignments within the reservation community, substituting what purports to be rational economic choice for that based on bonds of kinship and traditional labor organization. While this aspect of the *mediero* system is sometimes resented by those Mapuche who engage in it with outsiders, they rationalize their behavior in terms of economic necessity. Involvement with white Chileans is a response to scarce resources which seems to be the road most hard-pressed Mapuche are presently taking.

The following examples indicate the system in operation on several reservations.

Reservation Alonqueo: Roble Huacho Region. It will be remem- 311
bered that this reservation contains a total of 513 hectares, almost all 427

311 of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-
427 field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

427 Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are
[162] involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros.*
A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from
[248] the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident
Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they
work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally
[241] the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater
than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the
overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

427 These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regu-
433 larly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most
cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital
[183] (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

427 On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very impor-
233 tant with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

427 *Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region.* The 293 hectares com-
311 prising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

Of the 181 hectares generally cultivated, 80 are farmed on a half- 427
share basis. This represents 45 per cent of the total arable land as [311]
against 22 per cent on Alonqueo. There are seven residents and two [648]
absentees who share land with other Mapuche; eight share with Chile-
ans. Only one of the sixteen households shares no land at all. As was 433
the case on Alonqueo, poverty in seed, equipment, and draft animals 427
is the paramount reason for working land in half-shares.

There is greater poverty on Llancaman than on Alonqueo, indicated by the fact that all but one family shares land with *medieros* who, by and large, are nonresidents. However, land is more abundant and only five families have all their holdings in half-shares, as contrasted to nine families on Alonqueo. In this case it seems that poverty, in addition to surplus land, results in a high incidence of half-sharing while allowing for retention of some land for one's own cultivation.

Besides the land generally under cultivation, there is a reserve of 311
more than 100 hectares, most of which is used for pasture. Very little of this land will serve for agriculture until extensive drainage systems are put into effect. As the Mapuche claim, government agricultural assistance is needed to put all the land into crops. Still, a certain amount of it, perhaps as much as 25 per cent of the reserve, could be drained well enough by the Indians themselves. Cooperation on a reservation-wide basis would be needed, and there seemed little chance of this coming to pass at the time of the investigation, since the land in question would have benefited only one of the lineages rather than the entire reservation population.

The reserve land is comprised mostly of *vega* (swampland and 233
large trees). Although only part of it is suitable for grazing through- 427
out the year, it affords a common pasturage, unknown to the residents
of Alonqueo. Because of this pasture land, animals figure importantly 433
in the *mediero* system on Llancaman. Twenty-three per cent of all [311]
animals pastured within reservation limits belong to nonresidents, as
compared to a little more than 6 per cent on Alonqueo. Furthermore,
no cattle are involved in the *mediero* arrangements on Alonqueo. Of
the 327 animals involved on Llancaman (234 sheep and 93 cattle),
71 are on a half-share basis.

This seems to imply a surplus of land (albeit land unsuited for
agriculture) and a desire to profit from increasing herds rather than
a poverty in animals. Llancaman is not overgrazed. No family has
any of its own animals pastured on another reservation. Of the seven [648]
families (almost 50 per cent of the number of households), three op-

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427
433 erate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals
648 involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200
311 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being
311 cut down.

427 Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents
[648] and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

433 There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not
[231] suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects
[241] of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

427 On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to
433 animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One
233 hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

177 We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche
121 economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble 177
Chilean society. 12

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a re- 177
sult of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions
in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought 191
some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion 797
to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation 592
from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts
such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which 183
are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched
house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this 433
represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

177 quarters of a century by the Mapuche themselves. The wide-eyed visiting specialist and the local Chileans, who observe the Mapuche with hooded eyes, see Mapuche "society" rather discretely or in a piecemeal fashion, if at all. They see Mapuche individuals in momentary situational adjustment to outside technical, economic, political, or religious pressures. At most, they observe these adjustments in family-sized segments of Mapuche society. Even Titiev did not *see* patrilineages. The agricultural expert is primarily interested in how Sr. Huenchulaf contours his fields, not in defining the organization of reservation agriculture. The Mapuche adjust as individuals to the questions of the anthropologist and the suggestions of the agronomist, responses which are immediately impressive to an alien eye. This book deals with what lies beneath these surface phenomena. [124]

Notions of private ownership of farmland and the need to deal in dyadic relationships with Chileans in the market-oriented economy appear, on spot analysis, to divest the Mapuche farmer of his cultural heritage. In his relationship with Chileans the Mapuche is "stupid," "withdrawn," "ashamed." True. But this stupidity, withdrawal, and shame actually constitute symbols of Mapuche social integrity.

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182 It is to be expected, especially in view of the historical record, that economic or ecological changes will have a cumulative effect and eventually wear away the structure of Mapuche society. McBride, in 1936, predicted the distintegration of Mapuche society, casting his eye on Chilean legislation which threatened the existence of the reservations. He was neither the first nor the last to forecast imminent doom. One might even say that such was the hope of Pedro de Valdivia, for that matter. That it is a continuing hope of most Chileans is clear from congressional records. Who can doubt that Mapuche society will eventually crumble? But this is not to say that from internal evidence Mapuche absorption is in sight. Titiev predicted that the Mapuche "may yet retain some of their old ways of life" (1951:152) for a few more generations, claiming that the Mapuche are today virtually indistinguishable from Chilean peasants around them. It is also possible that a legislative act could eradicate Mapuche society much sooner than learned forecasters would have it. All of which indicates something of the futility of such broad conclusions, and points up the superficiality of the inquiry which gave rise to them.

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182 The Mapuche family does not stand alone, apart from coresidents of the reservation community. It is on one hand linked to the market place and on the other to the larger community — the lineage seg-

ment, the maximal lineage, the residential kingroup, the multilineage 594
reservation, and the multireservational structure which constitutes 182
the nucleus of units in the systems of matrilateral marriage and ritual congregationalism. Behind the façade of rational economic judgment, the individual and his family are deeply imbedded in the web of relationships which constitute reservation social structure.

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Part Two

RESERVATION SOCIAL STRUCTURE

[p.67]
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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long. 177 611 591 [582] [182]

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed. [128]

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

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Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized. [611] [591]

[p.68 is blank]

594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence – at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships – and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no equivalent Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is – at least during one or more phases of its development – always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of [613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated [596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests [594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 [621] *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen – father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain [592] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 613 [112] The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. Since *lofu* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any [586] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

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lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in polygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which still exists among the Mapuche. 613 [595]

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households. [476]

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa,* in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, although reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned — and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question. 613 [776] [592]

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance — for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal 611

611 kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back
[217] to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague politi-
621 cal abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by
101 the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging
to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation)
[794] rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are
seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are
local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpin. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[794] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[782] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[776] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a
61 good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of
kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

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628 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 621 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 621 613 618 [591]

618 621 613 [591] concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly [629] the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, [721] the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 [611] [602] Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

613 179 The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in 613
stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity 177
of the lineage has become crystallized.

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social 114
groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). 61
There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian 177
literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivian apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common [182]
pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche [621]
were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and
early twentieth centuries.

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together 177
to defend their territory against invading whites. This was 613
more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general [548]
resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when
the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions [423]
of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of

613 [199] peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram I shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage
which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one gen-
eration beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This
ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the
only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are
there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding res-
198 ervations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the
613 limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation sys-
tem, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of local-
ized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this
situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and eco-
nomic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the
establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based
structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding so-
ciety; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate
lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of
the dominant lineage.

613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage*, (2) *lineage group*, (3) *localized lineage*, (4) *sublineage*, and (5) *minimal lineage*. The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the
maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because fe-
[592] males of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with
[591] a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their hus-
bands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there
are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved
off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local
group.

613 The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who
621 comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component
of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[See Cat. 116, P. 93—Analyst]

males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal 613 621 group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees.

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally [618] related males, and includes their spouses and children as well as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage.

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche,* a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral [622] and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *título de*

613 621 [622] *merced* for the reservation group. This is one important reason for distinguishing lineal and residential units.

It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's [114] *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas,* which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[2] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called [614] "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

613 621 618 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage. Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this [622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

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[2] Guevara, 1913. Chap. 2:15–183, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, 613
kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate 621
reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.[3] 618
Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature.

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been 591
described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown 613
of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of 621
neolocality – neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case.

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate 613
the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation- 621
period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost 596
nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages [114]
simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar [618]
to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this

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[3] Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

613 might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal
621 descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it
596 does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock
suggests further that the development of a consciousness of
[618] unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In
[114] view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956
and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate
[428] that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance
of titles and material goods and membership in the core group
of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social
structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day
Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of
pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization.
The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant
depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises
important subunits which in prereservation days split off,
moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations
[622] composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem
of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the
kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population.
These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the
reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment
contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup
[618] and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent
significant change with the emergence of a strong
chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the
minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation
lofche. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial
resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and
the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and
following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's
618 patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman
[580] change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's
[591] kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a
temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women
are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full
community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important
adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they
marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal
kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married
women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation,
the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes
over time, especially if they should move to a "distant"
reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between
their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's
sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a
woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced,
and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends
on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in
which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the
granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered
at the time the reservation was established) may claim land,
should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support
of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by
the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural
land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage
her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de
Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real
shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of
radicación (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

562 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), ex-
423 tenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are condi-
177 tional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction
over land.

428 Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most im-
423 portant part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that
562 land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property—
177 at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however,
[556] females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and
[591] the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are
sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for
their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation
should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of
a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and,
within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the
621 anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders
are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most
areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on
her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on
her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is
closely related to the chief or another important male she will not
suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally,
which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group.
If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head
approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of
[428] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact de-
[423] pends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership.
Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured—that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of
562 women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman
589 who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The
second is a composite account of several women who returned to
their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through
divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded
as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities
and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried 613
and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she 562
will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa 589
cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo,
who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance
during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard
animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" [158]
(*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to
periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior
which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship
with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation,
who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship [684]
been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest
kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the
reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been
physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called [624]
in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

613 Since none of these developments have taken place, the allegation, if
562 not false, certainly seems to have carried little weight. Yet it serves to
589 indicate the position of the man and his sister in the community and
to show that an unmarried woman's status is closely related to that of the kinsman upon whom she is most dependent.

In most cases an unmarried woman would not be so isolated, but she would participate merely as a member of her brother's or father's household and her position would depend on that of the male relative with whom she lived. Spinsters are atypical in Mapuche society, and there seem no hard and fast rules for determining their status in the community.

An instance of more general occurrence is that of a widowed or separated woman who returns to her natal reservation with her young children. While her status and the extent to which she participates in community activities also depend largely on the position within the local group of her father, brother, or another close kinsman, the strength of her claim to farmland is of crucial significance with regard to her standing in the community. A female of the patrilineage who is in residence has the right to participate in lineage-based community affairs, although she lacks the importance of the males. Her attendance at funerals and fertility rites is actually obligatory, and she might be consulted on all matters of reservation policy and activities. Her economic status is an important factor in this regard. If she is able to support herself, usually through the efforts of her young sons and daughters or by working on a half-share basis with a kinsman, she achieves a great measure of independence. In effect, she is treated as a household head.

A woman who has re-established residence in her natal group associates less with in-married females than with her patrilineal kinsmen, and her role may approximate that of a male in certain spheres of action—for example subsistence activities. She is a welcome guest in her father's house and those of her brothers. She tends to be most friendly, therefore, with the women of these households, and especially with those among them whom she had known before she herself married and left the community. On a large reservation, this might serve to limit her circle of friends considerably, as well as her voice in community affairs. But on a small reservation containing few households she would tend to be on intimate terms (not necessarily friendly terms) with everyone. She might visit and be visited more often than other women of the group, and she would be the recipient

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she 613
was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, 562
since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and 589
many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care
for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential
kingroup when she died. If industrious, she§ might well manage to [434]
earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured [439]
or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her
land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in
time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she [434]
would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might
have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE [4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal 591
residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held 114
by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find
no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however.
Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in
much the same terms as such instances today—in general, the male
is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized 591
by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated [361]
considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean [613]
troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. [166]
Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger [182]
residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is
evidence that during the present and the previous generation
men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar [175]
moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of
Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration 591
after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation 613
land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for [623]
emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often [609]
as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be [166]

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[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

§[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group— ANALYST]

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613 emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

[681] In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to [609] put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship [599] [608] can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

613
623 The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

613 In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

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423
621 A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. 613 After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to 423 her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little 621 more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing [602] to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his [609] mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and work- [414] ing as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

613 423 621 to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members [167] of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

562 613 621 618 [591] When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that 562
women attain rests on the customary relationships among their 613
spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. 621
Women of the local group do not assemble for communal under- 618
takings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for [496]
certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons—and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility
is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision- [571]
making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind- [593]
the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and po-
litical gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women [535
are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make [illegible]
up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth. [illegible]]

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms at large as

562 613 621 618 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships between their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 562 754 An important consideration which might be made here, however, is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery – or at least in certain forms of it – against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 562 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence – because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup – but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affinship and common residence.

[92]

and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship among their respective spouses. 613 592 [592]

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sublineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup. 613 178

The prereservation *lofiche* settlement was much smaller than present-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports – written and oral histories and registry records. [221] The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucania. [166] The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration has served to limit reservation population growth. [167]

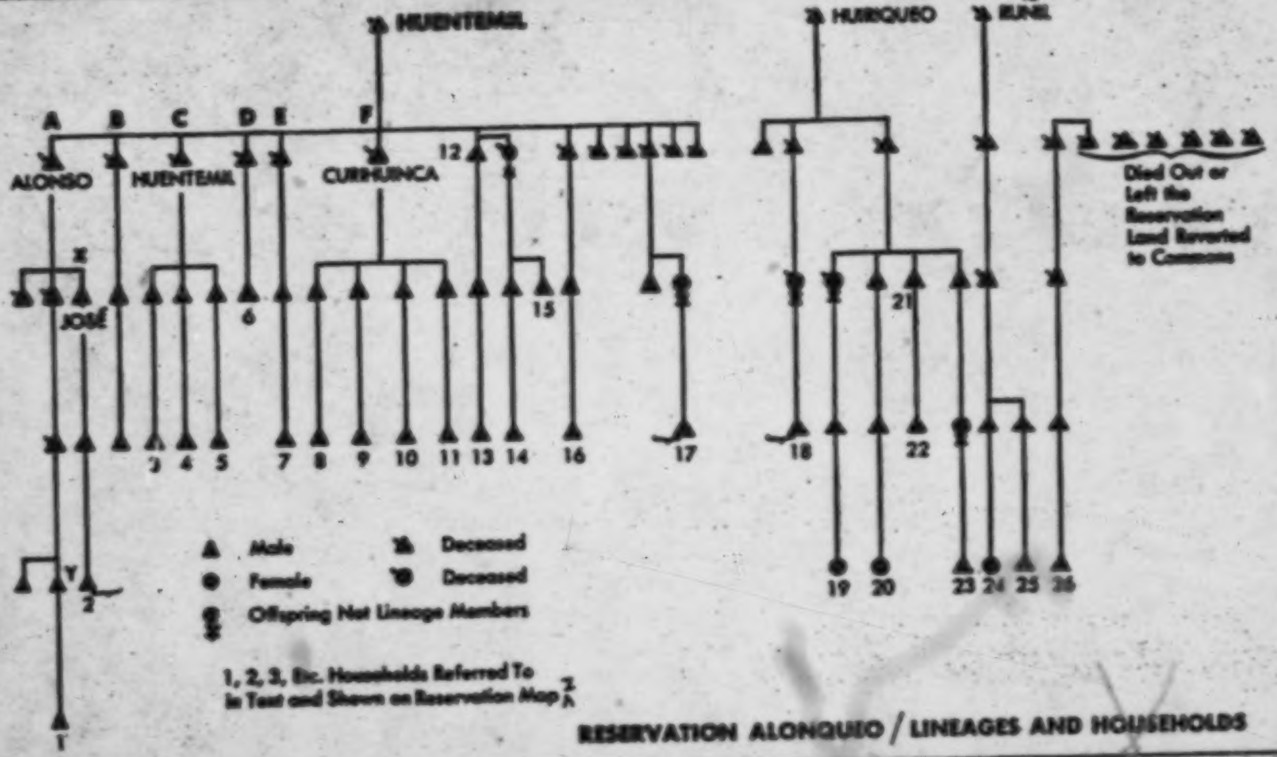
There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservacion system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days – and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

613 alogies back to the chief who held title to reservation land, the original
178 holder of the *título de merced,* since questions of rights to reservation land hinge on this relationship. And this was both important and possible owing to the group's immobilization. Under reservation restrictions the localized lineage has ramified into localized sublineages which trace descent *directly* to a common ancestor, usually no more than several generations removed – that is, to an important ancestor who lived just before the reservation policy went into effect. Unimportant collateral ancestors have been forgotten.

621 Diagram I represents lineage and household alignments on reserva-
613 tion Alonqueo. There are several unrelated kingroups of unequal size, importance, and viability on this reservation, which makes it representative of all but the tiniest reservations in Mapucheland. A discussion of the Huentemil maximal lineage will serve to indicate how sublineation has proceeded over the past few generations.

The diagram shows Huentemil as the recognized founder of a
maximal (and dominant) patrilineage. He is generally agreed to have
[595] had five wives and a large family, which comprised most of the resi-
dential kingroup in preservation times.

The males of the generation immediately below Huentemil are all said to have been brothers, but there is disagreement among informants as to which of them were full, half, or even classificatory brothers (i.e. parallel cousins). Since nothing in detail is remembered of the siblings, parents, or other relatives of Huentemil, there seems no way to clarify this uncertainty. It seems of utmost significance that, in view of this uncertainty, the several sublineages should all claim direct descent from Huentemil. He is actually remembered by a few of the oldest living members of the reservation community, although it is clear that much of what they recall of him is apocryphal. He is already shrouded in an aura of semimyth, well on the way to becoming one of the deified chiefs who walk with the sons of the gods. This indicates both the manner in which, and one of the reasons for which, the lineage system is frequently manipulated to include only ancestors of social importance. This genealogical maneuvering may take place on any generation. Eventually it is passed along as truth, and it is doubtful if such manipulation is ever a fully conscious fabrication. In general it may be said that collateral relationships are manipulated so that they converge and the actors become direct descendants at a generational level below that of the "founder" of the maximal lineage.


HUENTEMIL
HURIQUEO
RUÑIL
A
B
C
D
E
F
ALONSO
HUENTEMIL
CURIHUINCA
12
X
JOSÉ
6
15
21
Died Out or Left the Reservation Land Reverted to Commons
3
4
5
7
8
9
10
11
13
14
16
17
18
22
Y
2
1
19
20
23
24
25
26
Male
Female
Offspring Not Lineage Members
Deceased
Deceased
1, 2, 3, Etc. Households Referred To in Text and Shown on Reservation Map 2/A

RESERVATION ALONQUEO / LINEAGES AND HOUSEHOLDS

DIAGRAM I

2/A [See Cat. 116, p. 32 -- Analyst]

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621
Characteristically, nothing is remembered of Huentemil's daughters or any "sons" who were not mentioned in the *título de merced.* From a comparison of genealogies with some other nearby reservations, it is clear that members of Huentemil's household married locally, affinal bonds with Huentemil's lineage being recognized as far back as the time of *radicación.* Thus, regardless of genealogical accuracy at this generational level, Huentemil's descendants and their affines on certain linked reservations are fully aware that the potentiality of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups existed possibly even before the reservation system localized the groups to which they now belong. While the genealogies tend to be forgotten and are in most cases unclear if not contradictory, the foundations of the present matrilateral marriage system seem to have been laid around the time of the inauguration of the present reservation system.

Huentemil's offspring recorded in the *título de merced* numbered thirteen, only six of whom are represented on the genealogical chart. Of the other seven, only three have living representatives in the community today, the rest either having died out or moved away. Sublineages that may be called viable are represented by numbers 1, 2, 3, and 6 on the diagram.

It is likely that the other sublineages will remain small and that number 4 will cease to exist with the death of its present male representative, Vicente. A further likelihood is that the sister of Vicente *will marry, if she does at all, uxorilocally—that is, bring her husband* to live on the reservation. This would provide a basis for the development of a new lineage within the limits of reservation Alonqueo, although it is unlikely that such a development would occur nowadays. Vicente holds 50-odd hectares of reservation land, enough to support five small families. It is likely that there would be no opposition from lineage elders to the formation of another lineage solely on the grounds that the land area could not permit such increase in the reservation population—that is, there would be no opposition solely on the grounds of economic expediency. However, reservation Alonqueo has petitioned for *división* into severalty holdings, which raises a political issue. Any increase in the number of residents who are not members of the present lineages would be resisted by the majority of reservation members—as a politico-economic measure. Such an addition to the population would very likely be deplored by most of those persons who are hoping to gain more land through *división* as well

as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong 613
chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact 613
recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of sev- 621
eral households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along 595
with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three 592
wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement.

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of 613
their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. 621
There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II).1 Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans [168]
and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained.

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves 613
to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The orig- 621
inal occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was 361
made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not

1[See Cat. 116, p. 32 -- Analyst]

613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *titulo* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
169 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
621 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[*] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[646] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

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[*] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.
*[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233-- Analyst]

a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in 613
the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, 622
is less than in the extrareservational sphere. 648

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for
many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an
influential member of an indigenous political party which is in oppo- 665
sition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to 613
implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the 578
sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and
curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and counter-
charges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were 754
called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and 692
farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupport- 178
able in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often 613
resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal 578
group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjust-
ment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the 622
chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than
now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation 681
had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them.
Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some
sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the 622

613 [178] [622] lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied [665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; *Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their* [428] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

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[551] [177] [6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[622] [793] [7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

the majority of the other residents. The Curihuincas are among the oldest males on the reservation and are the most inclined to talk about the olden days, regarding themselves as traditionalists in a somewhat self-righteous manner. Bernardo, younger than his brothers, holds more land than both of them combined. At the death of the paterfamilias, Bernardo would have acquired a share of land approximately equal to that of his brothers. However, he was ambitious enough to strike out and clear land of his own. Nor was this due to family discord or pressure exerted by his brothers. He has laid claim to 20 hectares, much more land than he actually cultivates intensively. He has one of the few wooded sections of the reservation, which he considers private property, and also has some good grazing land. However, his sons have emigrated and all are not likely to return to the reservation. Bernardo lives with one of his unmarried daughters, who will possibly marry uxorilocally and inherit much of her father's holdings. Bernardo is opposed to *división*, in contrast to his brothers, who feel that they will receive more land if the reservation is divided into severalty holdings. 613

The above brief accounts indicate points of significance for an understanding of the relationships within and between sublineages. Lineage tensions are not necessarily between sublineages, as may be seen by the merging into one household of sublineage B and the X branch of sublineage A. Nor, in the example of the dissension in sublineage A, can it be said that all sublineages tend to become divided by competition among brothers. This may be seen by the fact that sublineage F is a fairly tightly integrated unit, even though one of the brothers is a protagonist of *división* and the others are opposed. Nor does their opposition align them with the chief, who is also in opposition to *división*.

DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE LINEAGES

Without the protection afforded by the reservation system it is unlikely that Mapuche society could have survived as a culturally and socially distinct entity, and it is almost certain that it would not have developed along the lines which have characterised it since the turn of the century. The existence of dominant and subordinate lineages within the reservation communities is almost entirely an outgrowth of the reservation system itself, the conception and execution of which 613 621 178 [48]

613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
621 story of this creation may be told quite simply.

178 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous
648 zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the in-
habitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military
context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as
chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebel-
lion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group
was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not
occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred
in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental
in establishing multikinship communities which had their founda-
tion in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was
designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment
of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any
reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small
groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these
obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered
land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these
remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation
community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
621 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant
lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The
way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by refer-
ring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone
significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original
title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their
advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politi-
cally dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the
crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least
[167] in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

[2] [See Cat. 116, p. 93 -- Analyst]

tion has encouraged members of successive generations to emigrate, 613
rather than to remain on the reservation. This is graphically indi- 62]
cated by the lack of sublineation and the narrow-based appearance as 178
portrayed in Diagram I. The implications of lominant and subordi- [167]
nate lineages for the internal political strucure of the reservation
community will be discussed in the next chaper.

5

The Reservation as a Political Unit

621 648 In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

[622] We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

[692] Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

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[792] [128] [782] [1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (ñillatufe), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the subcolonial context in which it thrives.

Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights 621
and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them 648
under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is [592]
backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the 175
Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south 648
of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío – Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico- [642]
military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they [701]
were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political [642]
authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

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the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

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[114]
It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

[643]
[613]
[622]
> Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering (724).

> Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and subheads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement. There was a certain loose hierarchy of honor and status (rather than authority proper) embracing higher and lower heads and "chiefs" – which brings us to the less clear features of the . . . sociopolitical structure [725]. 642 [601]

> In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 19th century, a certain increase in the executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen . . . and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact [726]. [622]

In writing of law and legal procedure, Cooper has this to say: 69 673

> The chief crimes recognized were adultry and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llankas . . . [726]. [627] [622]

Today, certain behavior is defined as extralegal by Chilean standards, serious departures from national law being handled by Chilean institutions empowered to enforce law and order. The Mapuche go to law for the settlement of disputes involving certain crimes and torts, but within the reservation community traditional sanctions deal effectively with other antisocial acts of a different nature. Most important among these are the ones which involve sorcery and which the Chilean courts usually refuse to consider seriously. Ostracism, ridicule, and the threat of sorcery continue as sanctions on most if not all reservations and larger communities. In certain instances, therefore, the Mapuche "take the law into their own hands," applying traditional moral principles in the ordering of social action. But matters involving property and personal rights not capable of being dealt with by traditional means are ultimately resolvable by recourse to the Chilean system of courts and law-enforcement agencies. 692 [648] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

MAPUCHE: "PEOPLE OF THE LAND"

After the declaration of Chilean independence in 1810, the new national government assumed responsibility for colonizing the Mapuche stronghold south of the Bío Bío River. In general, the republican government's efforts followed the pattern established during the [illegible] 433

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colonial period. On the one hand there was an attempt to protect the Mapuche from the sharp practices of land grabbers, and on the other to provide a means for eventual absorption of the Indians into the national population. Provision was made for the sale of Indian-held land and the relocation of Mapuche on haciendas and in newly founded towns. A great amount of Indian land was alienated through fraudulent practices which ranged from purchase at unrealistically low prices to outright usurpation. The effort to get the Mapuche to settle in Chilean towns, however, failed just as it had throughout the colonial period.

By the middle 1860's the Mapuche became quite restive under the resurgent pressures of white colonization and a heightening of fraudulent acquisition of land. The Chilean government modified its Indian policy at the legislative level in an attempt to facilitate colonization while minimizing the danger of fraudulent expropriation of Mapuche land. In 1866 the government began to map reservation lands which were inalienable except through legal purchase after formal division. Again, the government was primarily interested in curtailing speculation in land and in implementing the peaceful colonization of Araucania. To the latter end, the Mapuche were continually encouraged to abandon their reservations and to work as laborers in small towns or on haciendas. To foster acculturation, the reservation law of 1866 provided that one-eighth of the household heads of a reservation could vote to relinquish reservation status and sell their land. It was written into the law that the Mapuche were not permitted to buy back the land after the dissolution of the reservation. Where division took place, the Indians were divested of their land, and large sections of their territory were expropriated by white colonists who had often duped them into voting for division. There is no evidence, however, that these Indians became tenant farmers on the haciendas or laborers in the towns, to any appreciable extent. Rather, landless Mapuche moved into virgin territory or took up residence with landed Indians, seeking the protection of the headmen of these groups. [21]

[illegible]

The rebellion of 1868-70 ensued and resulted in further unsettling and shifting of the Mapuche population. Those Indians near centers of white penetration abandoned their lands, retreated to less accessible regions, or joined the vast number of Mapuche who migrated to Argentina. This was still a time of large reservations and much unmapped land which allowed the Mapuche considerable mobility and made them a continual military threat. It was a period of intermittent hostilities—raids (*malones*) among the Mapuche themselves as the displaced groups jostled one another, and raids against the encroaching white farms and towns. 175 648 166 [721]

While Chilean armies were occupied with Peru and Bolivia during the War of the Pacific, the Mapuche staged their last general uprising, which ended in their defeat, pacification, and settlement on small reservations. After 1883, their territory was studded with military garrisons and Chilean towns, and crosscut by a network of roads and railroad lines. Unoccupied, that is, unregistered, land was taken over by the government and disposed of in several ways. 175 648 423

Reservation laws have been modified occasionally for the purpose of inducing the Mapuche to abandon their traditional way of life and make available their lands for white colonization. A "one-eighth" clause provided that the chief should obtain three times as much land as ordinary household heads when severalty holdings were allotted, in accordance with a vote of one-eighth of the reservation in favor of *división*. It was perhaps felt that the chief, on this inducement, could muster sufficient votes in favor of *división*. South of Cautín Province *división* and the consequent sale of land took place on a tremendous scale after 1886. But when the Mapuche came to realize their plight there was strong resistance to the law. Reservations were not being dissolved with nearly the rapidity the government had expected. In 1927 it was decreed that application for *división* could be made by a single family head, rather than one-eighth of the household heads. Again, the chief was favored, although the net was broadly cast to reach any individual desiring freehold status. Clarification of this law the following year went a step farther and made it explicit that the government, if the need arose, could divide the reservations at its own discretion! [622] [622]

The Mapuche continue to live under the threat of absolute and arbitrary governmental power.[9] There has consequently been a reaction to *división* on the part of the Mapuche, manifest in both the symbolism of cultural nationalism and the action programs of political nationalism, and by the concrete fact that very few reservations have been divided since. In 1931 the law was again modified to the extent that now agreement of one-third of the household heads of a [228]

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[9] A communication from Prof. Alejandro Lipschutz, December 27, 1960, informs that the National Congress has recently passed a law involving the dissolution of the reservations and that the only hope for their preservation depends on the personal intervention of the President of Chile.

175 648 423 reservation community is needed before application for *división* may be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

177 648 692 [671] The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

648 Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. [641] [664] Mapuche are Chilean nationals and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

[167] Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter [664] [665] parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over In- 648
dian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other 692
cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in
regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically,
the Indian judges (*Jueces de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing
before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled
to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government [131]
administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of
Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the 175
course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 648
1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. 161
It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the 169
Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been
routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucania there was also tremendous population move- 175
ment as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or south- 641
ward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were 122
brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested,
virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the
Mapuche themselves as by the white colonists. Aside from the gen-
eral historical accounts there are other data which add to the im-
pression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two
decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example,
it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew
him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in
some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility
is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for [621]
it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian
will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which
he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be men-
tioned in various *títulos*.

In large parts of Araucania the registration and mapping of reserva- [473]
tions was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm
colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the
establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier,
the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation.
Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until 175
as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century — almost [illegible]
thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social [illegible]

195 648 621 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

[illegible] It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. [164] There was considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[701] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

[illegible] When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community 178
were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to es- 622
tablish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may 423
move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within [578]
reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not
leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights
and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, indi- [592]
viduals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain
measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is al- [613]
ready claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrange-
ment to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage)
in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one
of the members who might want to establish a household of his own.
The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. [621]
Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an [578]
ad hoc basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the
population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer re-
solvable by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population 178
is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief re- 622
ceives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and 648
generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority 423
is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the
extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other
hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of deal-
ing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency
of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, [692]
since the development of a larger and more efficient police force
to the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part
of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the postreservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were estab-
622 lished on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independ-
178 ence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and com-
622 munal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
[423] frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evidence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[649] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. 178 622 [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where *división* is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reservation population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic sphere. [476] Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood [423] and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permission has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave [623] of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause.

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of prereservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, 178 621 622 648 sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance.

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives. This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organization, [701] rather than the normally highly segmentary structure characterized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. [622] So today's reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another.

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by 621 648 692

621 628 692 the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

621 [illegible] [illegible] 671 On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

178 642 648 It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

Today, shorn of many former powers, the chief is still a political figure. His leadership is most apparent in times of stress – for example when some national legislative gesture threatens the existence of the reservations or when crops fail and credit is badly needed – when the people look toward him to represent them in reservation matters. Depending on his national political views – essentially on whether or not he stands for *división* – he is aligned with and backed by an Indian pressure group, of which more will be said in a moment. In most cases, he is one of the best informed and politically astute men on the reservation, for which he earns respect and a following. He is plied with political questions and consulted by the household heads. He is expected to act on the wishes of his people, but he is not always expected to do so successfully. When he fails it is recognized more fully that the chief's power is on the decline, but people nevertheless rally around their chief time and again if he continues to stand by their trust in him. There is a strong in-group feeling which bolsters the chief's authority in matters which involve the reservation group with outsiders and which is partly dependent on his ritual leadership. (622)

In summary, then, strong chieftainship developed in a wartime situation and was reinforced under the reservation policy which followed the final pacification of the Mapuche. Mapuche leaders emerged because of their position in a lineage structure and because of their personal qualities, which included being formidable warriors, good tacticians, and knowledgeable individuals. When peace came throughout the Frontera, the chief's role as warrior ended, but he was still the most likely representative of the residential group and the logical successor to leadership. New qualities of leadership were called for, however, in time of peace. The chief had to be able to fight for his people's rights as these were defined by government legislation and the reservation system. It soon became apparent that short of open hostilities – a tactic tried on a small scale repeatedly for several decades after 1884 – the chief as such was growing ineffectual as a leader in the larger political sphere. Each time the government proposed and passed new reservation legislation there was an uneasy stirring among the Mapuche, whose chiefs acted only as intermediaries and not as powerful agents on their behalf.

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It was seldom the case that chiefs came off to advantage in their dealings with colonists or the government. Rather than negotiate advantageously, they tended to remain stubborn and recalcitrant in [illegible] 643 their frustration. For a long generation their people reinforced this recalcitrance, hostility, and withdrawal. Gradually, as economic and political interests became more individualized, the people eased away from the purely political and economic control of their chiefs. The chief could not satisfy the several families which comprised the reservation group if there was a divergence in their wants, and the family heads themselves took over a good measure of the authority formerly vested in the chief. The government exploited this situation in its policy of *división*. To some extent the decline in chieftainship [664 666] correlates with the development of Mapuche political pressure groups which express themselves on the regional and national level of Chilean political organization, and with the increasing participation of the reservation Indians in Chilean elections.

MAPUCHE PRESSURE GROUPS

664 There are several Indian pressure groups, often referred to as "societies," which serve Mapuche interests. The two most important of these are *Corporación Araucana* and *Unión Araucana*. They support different sides of the controversy over the reservation system. In general, the *Corporación* holds against *división* while the *Unión* supports it, although there are issues such as governmental assistance in education, the Mapuche standard of living, and so forth, which serve to unite the groups.

Corporación Araucana was established in 1910 under the name of *Sociedad Caupolicán* and reorganized around 1935 under its present name. The reorganization was a response to increased membership after the recent reservation laws which seemed to threaten the existence of the reservations. The *Corporación* has an official leadership and a treasury supported by contributions.

[797] *Unión Araucana* is a much smaller organization, and is strongly influenced by the Capuchin missionaries who have headquarters in Padre Las Casas, a barrio of Temuco. It was founded in the late 1920's. The *Unión* stands for allotment of reservation lands into severalty holdings, and some of its official membership are outspoken in favor of rapid absorption of the Mapuche into Chilean society. They see more and better education as the best means of effecting acculturation of the Mapuche. They feel that there should be effective government prohibition of immediate sale of severalty holdings as protection for the Indians against the whites who may try to cheat them of their

newly acquired land. In long-range terms I suspect this is also the stand for the more enlightened members of the *Corporación*, the difference being – and it is quite significant – that they envision a more gradual process. They have a different timetable. The rank-and-file members, however, perhaps do not see too clearly that ultimate division of reservation land and incorporation of the Indian into Chilean society is a goal of their most informed leadership.

Corporación Araucana is interested in maintaining the present reservation system and acquiring government assistance for the betterment of the Indians. The *Corporación* argues from historical evidence that *división* means, under present conditions, a transfer of lands from Mapuche to Chilean, and points to developments in provinces contiguous to Cautín as twentieth-century examples. *Corporación Araucana* emphasizes the gradual intellectual, moral, and material uplifting of the reservation Mapuche. It suggests that when the Mapuche are able to hold their own against white landowners (date unspecified), the time for *división* will have come. The reservation system is not defended on romantic grounds but on those of common sense and expediency. Among the less politically enlightened Mapuche, however, the emphasis seems to be placed on the romantic side of the issue – a preservation of the good old days.

Both groups are vocal in the public press and through elected representatives and appointees at all levels of government. The following quotation, taken from the newspaper *La Nación* of Santiago (printed in *Boletín Indigenista*, Vol. IV, June 1944, No. 3, pp. 115–17) bears this out:

> Don Osvaldo Vial, Minister of the Department of Tierra y Colonización, received a telegram yesterday from the Araucana Corporation, with headquarters in Temuco, informing him that in a special meeting it was decided to congratulate him for his interest in Indian problems. The telegram went on to state that the aim of the Araucanian Indians was to change their policy and organization, to obtain representation, to reorganize their education, economy and hygiene along progressive lines.
>
> The telegram also stated that for the past ten years they had been the victims of inhuman exploitation because of the present juridical system of the Indian courts. Their present dire poverty was a result of the authorization of expropriations and illegal sales of their lands.
>
> In view of our impossible situation – due to the present Law governing Indian Courts, we take the liberty of informing you that we repudiate the present legal system and believe that, since the problem is economic and social in nature, a reform of this law should be based upon a recognition of this fact.

664 In conclusion, the Araucana Corporation requested Sr. Vial to receive their representative, Don Venancio Cunuepan, who would report to him on the vital needs of the Indians. In this way they hoped to enlist the Minister's aid in drawing up a new version of the present Law which would affect two hundred thousand Indians, making it possible for them to fulfill their twofold ambition: work their fields and increase the wealth of the nation.

It is common to read declarations and arguments in the Temuco newspapers in which the major factions express themselves. The [204] *Unión Araucana*, in addition, publishes its own official bulletin, *El Araucano*, in which its position is continually explained and editorial attacks are made against opposition groups.

I quote in full a short editorial blast from *El Araucano* (August 1953. [p. 4]) which I trust will serve to point up its feelings against the major opposition groups as well as illustrate the sort of issues abroad in Araucanía:

> Es una gran mentira la especie que anda en el campo y que, al parecer, es divulgada por los dirigentes de la Corporación Araucana, en el sentido que sólo los socios de la mencionada *Sociedad* recibirían Créditos en la Caja Agraria de Temuco, a cuenta de los fondos que oportunamente se destinarán por el Supremo Gobierno para esa finalidad.
>
> Todos los Indígenas, sí, *todos los indígenas*, sean ellos partidarios de la Corporación Araucana o no partidarios de esta Sociedad, siempre que reunan las condiciónes que exigirán los respectivos Reglamentos de la Sección de la Caja de Crédito Agrario, recibirán su aporte. De esto, no dude nadie. Así debe ser y así será.
>
> Nuestros socios, simpatizantes y todos los mapuches, en general, tendrán en nuestra secretaría los pormenores para la consecución de esos créditos. En breve abriremos una Secretaría Permanente para atender a todos los indígenas gratuitamente. Por ahora, está encargado el Sr. Esperidión Antilef, en Padre Las Casas, Villa Alegre esquina La Paz, la atención de los socios que deseen créditos.

[648] This article and the political dissension it suggests among the Mapuche came in the wake of a rumor that the Chilean government was going to make available 30,000,000 pesos (roughly 150,000 dollars in 1953) to be loaned in small amounts to Mapuche farmers. Since it is [452] almost impossible for the Mapuche to establish private credit, this latest news fell "among the Mapuche like a shower in time of drought."

It is not to be imagined that even a large part of the reservation Mapuche are well versed in regional and national politics, although

every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has 669
pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians,
many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering
their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the
feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism.
Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de
negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in
their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out.

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning 664
themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure 666
groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed
to their particular views. There is then a chain of political influence [622]
from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on
a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national
political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its
platform.

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the 666
vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to 567
the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians,
make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal
suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there
are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, partly because few [212]
women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean
government), but primarily because political activity is considered a
male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education
on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change.

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort 666
is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office
arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to
the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are
always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers.
Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting [203]
hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns
and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement
and entertainment.

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies [208]
in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to
another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they
are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [213]

661 [613] often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

664 631 622 578 Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original [428] title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the elder brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These [671] young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested [641] only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons previously stated. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 578

The chief is opposed to division, since he is a large landholder and would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were apportioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to division. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for division. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of division accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been reoriented politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder.

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of haves and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The ones with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the Unión's idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their positions in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the bulk of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally distrustful of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the [illegible] system and reservation life in general this position with regard to land rights tends to have important repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family [illegible] [illegible] 578

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

621 heads are in opposition to the chief on his stand with regard to divi-
631 sion, his influence in the economic and political spheres of activity
571 tends to diminish. Otherwise, the chief, while perhaps not as important a figure in the organization of agricultural and other labors as formerly, retains a great deal of prestige as a titular organizer and leader, and has very real importance with respect to religious ceremonialism, the organization of feasts and games, and other activities having a ritual aspect.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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The Domestic Group

Every Mapuche is born into an elementary family, a reproductive unit 596 consisting of father, mother, and children, with which he identifies [594] to some extent as long as it exists as a unit—that is, as long as his parents live. The same individual, after he marries, is almost always a member of a larger and differently composed domestic group in which the elementary unit into which he was born (his family of "orientation," or part of it) is a segment among others which have become attached to it and which includes the families of procreation of himself and his brothers. This family constellation constitutes a phase in the growth cycle of the domestic group and is called herein an extended or a joint-extended family. I use extended family in the sense of a corporate social unit, whether or not it is domiciled under a single roof. With the death of the paterfamilias, the several elementary units constitute a joint family of brothers and their wives and children, as long as they remain integrated. Of somewhat different [595] composition is the group or segments of it which is formed around half-siblings, in cases where either the father (or less often the mother) has married more than once. These tend to be polygynous families. In any case, where these half-siblings are domiciled under one roof or in a single residential cluster of households, this comprises a domestic arrangement which is herein called a compound family.

These three types, elementary, joint-extended, and compound, are [595 594]

178 594 596 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to [29] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 174 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4. It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukaleua*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting 592 594 41 174 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit. I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been established throughout most of Araucania, elementary-family house-

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[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949) and his analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the 592
greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the 621
era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household 174
units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation
on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family house- 177
hold in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 123, 592
must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, 596
at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact – that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons – than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup – with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements – is a

[592] [594] [596] recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing economic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (below) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of large domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in [613] prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but intrareservational mobility – the establishment of "revived" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough personally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary household units (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in different areas of Araucania. Data for the year 1920, which is an average [126] date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the [124] course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A, which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households might be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

r? [See CIT. 155, pp. 228 – 233 — Bookpage?]

household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	% 1953	1952	% 1953	1952	% 1953	1952
	EXTENDED*		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, for such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and compound households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in ritual relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, pooling the profits from its own agricultural pur-

594 units, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the
[illegible] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children
[578] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable
[888] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of
[152] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is diverted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family
[601] members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the eldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and
[593] responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered,
[596] especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand in

inherits the father's animals and holdings, which he may dispose of 594
according to his own judgment. A female who is much older than the [428]
rest of her sisters takes over most of the mother's duties and tends to
oversee domestic activities. She might be referred to as *ñuke*, a term [601]
suggesting this special status in the family.

Within the family the central figure is the father, and after his 594
death his authoritarian role as organizer of family activities can only 561
be approximated by either his widow or his eldest son, the two usually sharing a position of family authority. The way this is worked out in any family depends for the most part on the age and capabilities of the widow with respect to her children. Her sons and daughters tend to treat her deferentially, and if she is active and industrious she may assume much of her husband's role as organizer of family activities, although she will deliberate with her grown children in a way not
characteristic of the father. Widows tend to gain more persuasive [887]
powers than men as they become older. Unlike aging men, they do not actually cede powers to their maturing sons and daughters. The widow's position changes considerably when her daughters marry and leave the reservation. She again performs most of the household duties, even if there is a younger daughter still in residence, and this involves ordering her sons' activities to a large extent. The mother's authority, however, rests on the tender relationship between herself and her children, and part of her mechanism of control is continual complaint—disapproval about how things are being managed by her sons and daughters. Her wishes are most often complied with, even though the children realize she is exploiting the relationship to gain the upper hand in the household. They sometimes rationalize this as her "old-fashioned ways."

Certain functions traditionally performed by the family are in the 594
process of being taken over by other institutions, such as schools, and 178
these changes are related intimately to the changing economic structure with its cash-credit operations favoring more productive agricultural activities. The Mapuche is in competition with other Mapuche and with Chilean society. Education of the younger generation has deprived the parental group of a measure of its former authority. Respect for parental judgment is diminishing in certain spheres, and it is not uncommon to hear complaints that parents are "behind the times." Once respect is lost, the father either tends to listen to the views of his son by renewing and maintaining the association, or else such pressure is exerted upon the son that he leaves the parental

554 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely
178 to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgments. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in the
[618] sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic tensions between family
[596] members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society.
[591] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustments, since she leaves her natal
[618] group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[464] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens
[562] and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which
[822] she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife confining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make counter-suggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom finds himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as [illegible] or loco (crazy). 593 422 593 222

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early married period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic. 593 [584) [151]

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as machismo, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to looseness, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women. {831 837}

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided 839

839 there is not a general neglect of wife and children as a result. Other men, while not openly condoning promiscuity among their peers, treat the matter jocosely and extend feigned sympathy to the husband who has to disport himself with other women and yet attempt to maintain a respectable front. The women of the community react to such behavior with attitudes ranging from stern disapproval to malicious enjoyment, depending mostly on the extent of their friendship with the wife of the wayward husband.

If a man's extramarital affairs result in a failure to fulfill familial duties, it is likely that his own closest kin will admonish him. He might be advised that times have changed and that the day of the polygynist is past. It is rare for such admonition to come from the [602] wife's family, who only in extreme cases intervene on behalf of their kinswoman, and then usually to suggest that she return to her father's house.

A woman will remain with her husband even though she knows or suspects that he is having sexual relations with other women. If the husband provides the expected economic security, as he is morally obliged to do, and the woman has children to occupy her thoughts, she does not return to her father's or brother's house. She may not even urge her husband to give up his lover. This is especially so if she has lived on his reservation for a number of years and has made close friends with some of the other women, among whom are her own classificatory sisters. It is not difficult to see the historical roots of [576] such attitudes in a society in which polygyny was once widely practiced, the principle still active, and in which such forms of marriage continue to occur. An indication of an elder brother's attitude might be had from one man who told me that as long as his sister was provided for he did not feel justified in meddling in her affairs; that he could not bring her back to live with him since he had barely enough land to support his own family and his widowed mother; that it would take time before the Mapuche threw off their "barbaric" habits; that he was patient and was willing to wait until his sister's husband settled down to domestic life. Some combination of these sentiments is expressed by nearly every Mapuche, male and female alike.

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839 Men expect postmarital chastity from their wives and punish breaches severely. It is said that formerly a man could legitimately kill both his unfaithful wife and her lover, if he was able to catch them in a compromising situation. I heard a few stories about husbands who killed their wives' paramours in more recent times, but not

on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 839
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his
receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long
as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so,
such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [593]
and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful
husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away— 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [167]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling [593
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor—a member of 683
his lineage—to intercede and advise the man against such action. 613
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship 622
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such 627]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role.
While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties
she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [594]
other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

593 ment to people of her husband's group. This period is much easier for her if she has real or classificatory sisters living on her husband's reservation or nearby. It is, however, the time when her husband, although perhaps most demonstratively affectionate to her, actually has least in common with her. Young husbands seem to yield their bachelor freedom with reluctance, and while sagacious wives are not supposed to upbraid them for this, they complain that the earliest years of marriage are least satisfying.

851 After the birth of the first child a woman has much to busy her and to comfort her. It is at this time that she feels more at ease in her husband's natal community.

521 A man derives much satisfaction from the companionship of his wife. It is common for a man to call his wife by the Araucanized term *kompañ* (*compañero-a*). During leisure hours, at mealtimes, and often long into the night a man and woman carry on almost endless conversations, exchanging news and gossip, talking about their children and relatives, planning the next day's activities and social visits, and the like.

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851 A woman is apparently more submissive to her husband's authority before the birth of children. Once a child has been born to the couple, the wife's position in the household is enhanced since it is she who assumes the major role in the care and control of the infant. This is not to say that there comes about a balance of authority, but the woman firmly establishes herself in the highly respected role of mother, which entitles her to privileges she would not otherwise be able to acquire and strengthens her relationship with her husband's lineage.

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855 When a child is born it is wholly welcomed by the parents, who dote on it. As far as my observations go, older children are generally gleeful about the new arrival. At least this was the case in two households in which I lived where children were born during my stay, and it seems not to have been contradicted by the other instances I was able to observe.

854 Although there is some sharing of responsibilities for the care and comfort of the infant by both parents, as well as by some of the older children, it is the mother who plays the major role in direct satisfaction of its needs.
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593 In consideration for the mother's extra labors, the husband is likely to shoulder some of the domestic chores such as providing wood for the ever-going fire, fetching water, tending to the cook pot, and the like. If there are other children capable of per-

forming these chores, the father will delegate them according to 846 ability, sex, and age qualifications, or else the mother will direct the 593 household management from her bed. In any case, a husband tends to relieve his wife of major duties during accouchement. Sometimes [854] husbands make a cradle for the newborn child, although this is usually done in anticipation several months before delivery. Rattles and gewgaws might also be made by the father or other members of the household, as well as by friends and relatives who visit to see the baby and congratulate the parents.

A man seems to enjoy crooning to his newborn child and spends 854 a good deal of his leisure time caressing it and holding it after the mother has returned to her normal household routine. Parents are [855 quite patient with children, rarely speaking harshly to them or slapping 861] them. While there is variation in handling children who are older, treatment of small babies seems to be uniformly gentle, if not consistently affectionate. Both father and mother take turns soothing a squalling infant. As long as there are infants in the household, a father is necessarily involved in such activities. I saw an instance in which a man soothed three toddlers at once each night during the two months I was a guest in his house. Not only did he demonstrate utmost patience, but he attempted to tell them instructive stories all the while—little of which I am sure they were able to understand.

So much attention is given infants and they are caressed so openly [593 that it seems not unreasonable to think that the display of affection 154 toward them is an outlet for the traditionally suppressed feelings 854] between husband and wife which characterize all but the first months or earliest years of most marriages. The relationship between husband [851 and wife surely alters perceptibly after children are born and companionship 832] replaces the afore-mentioned romantic and otherwise atypical behavior, such as holding hands and singing love songs.

As the family increases, so does the mother's status within it. This 593 depends on her importance in caring for the younger children and 861 training them in the tasks they will perform during childhood and early adolescence. The husband openly recognizes his wife's importance in these matters, which reaffirms the cooperative relationship that is the keystone of family structure. Socialization, practical education, the channeling of anger, envy, possessiveness, and so forth devolve mainly upon the mother during the period when her children are young. She mediates to a great extent the attitudes and

593 [861] beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the *larger* society. The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor [554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

593 851 When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child [844] differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

844 There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a 756 [illegible] [illegible] *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

844 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child. 844 844 431 572

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the ruka. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup. 844 754

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually. 553 551 603 613 527 [illegible] It is said that the bonds of kinship between alternate generations are reinforced and symbolized by the bestowal of the grandfather's name.

[illegible] Nowadays *lakutun* does not usually involve material advantages accruing to the namesake, as was the custom in the past. Poverty seems to be the principal reason for this economic aspect of the custom falling into disuse. *Lakutun* is still of vital importance in the scheme of morality, however, which involves a continuity between the living and the ancestral spirits symbolized in this naming ceremony.

Mother-Child Relationships

[illegible] The mother is the principal custodian and disciplinarian of her children up to puberty. In the case of girls, the relationship is maintained until marriage. Boys, however, begin to be explicitly trained by their father or older brother as they approach puberty. Although the mother-son relationship is characterized by mutual tenderness, and in later life the mother might be wholly dependent upon the support of her son, the mother-daughter relationship is a closer working arrangement throughout the daughter's unmarried life. It is the daughter also who inherits a mother's personal belongings and often has them doled out to her during the mother's declining years.

[illegible] In children below the age of ten or so there is little or no role differentiation according to sex. Boys and girls both receive instruction in performance of domestic chores – in helping with cleaning the dirt floor of the *ruka*, sweeping the yard in front of the house, preparing certain kinds of foods, tending to the cook pots, fetching firewood and water, and a host of other menial duties.

[illegible] As soon as a child begins to toddle, a mother teaches it to bring her items of household equipment such as pots and jars, cloths, spoons, and other things stored in the dwelling, like potatoes, maize, onions, and so forth. This is done with considerable patience and is recognized as purposeful training, since the mother may have to demonstrate how things should be done and, in the beginning, redo many things herself. Whereas the mother is mostly matter-of-fact about such training and may be rather critical of the way her orders are followed, the father is almost always pleased merely to see small children offer even clumsy assistance in this way. The critical tone of the mother is usually offset by one of amused satisfaction in the father. [593] There seems to be something in this reaction akin to playing with the child which is absent in the mother-child relationship. As children grow older, competence is demanded by both parents, who express 861 considerable annoyance if chores are not performed well. [868]

Parental annoyance does not often lead to physical punishment. Children are seldom punished, although often scolded. Parents and [865] grandparents suffer a small child to hit them in a tantrum or playfully, telling them "No! No! Don't be naughty." As children grow older, they might be cuffed or whipped by their father, rarely by their mother. There is nothing systematic about this sort of punishment. It seems to occur in a fit of parental temper, which is suppressed when the child is young.

A mother enjoys suckling her children and gives them the breast 853 to soothe them. It is not uncommon to see children with a full set of teeth taking their mother's breast under certain circumstances, often when the mother and child are away from home and the child is tired and restless. I have seen it occur at funerals, weddings, and religious ceremonies at which children whom I had previously thought were weaned took the breast along with a newborn sibling. It is said that in days of polygynous households co-wives took turns [595] nursing each other's children, but as far as I could discover (and there were no nursing children in any of the polygynous households I visited), this does not occur today unless the mother has no milk or is otherwise indisposed. In that case the child is sometimes nursed by a relative or close friend or sometimes fed gruel or canned milk, there being little fresh milk available on the reservations.

Both mother and father take an interest in their children's toilet 863 training, although the mother has the most responsibility simply because she is with them more than the father. The Mapuche are not rigid in this training and apparently are not disturbed by a child's soiling himself and the floor. Either the mother or the father sweeps or scrapes the excrement outside and cleans the child with a wet cloth.

One aspect of a child's early upbringing about which parents seem 856 rather stringent, at least in contrast to their permissive attitudes in [861] other respects, is in discouraging children from crawling. While there is some variation in the way this is done, one of the parents usually sets the child upon its feet or takes it in his lap. Formerly, children were trained in most households by means of a set of parallel sticks of bamboo serving as handholds along which the child could guide himself.

If the mother is the primary disciplinarian, she is also the main 855

855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the ruka.

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859 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children – at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast [52] of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in [152] regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dislikes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often 868
acknowledged by the girl herself.

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of 593
the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime.

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the 593
situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is re- 594
placed by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many
nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are [273]
served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also
an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and [431]
husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings.

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between 868
mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early [593]
years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic
chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although [883]
this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him.

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they 868
are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older 857
sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This 233
is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and
horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact [885]
and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult work.

work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father – even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

594 The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions – especially those concerning the homestead – are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were 594 often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with outstanding dignity.

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family [613] and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large.

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and [592] daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are [582] tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households [167] composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each.

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and 593 there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions [601] based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half- [595] siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the [428] distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother).

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

593 dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their relationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation
[622] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals. Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, perhaps with the exception of their father. Their children become the closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional marriage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their father, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-fashioned. They tend to be "social" companions, accompanying one another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One
[584] often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They form the most productive work unit of the household or *lofche*, if they live in an extended family, albeit under the guidance of their father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

brothers is the lack of formality in their relationship throughout life. 593

Sisters cooperate in the domestic sphere, under the guidance of their mother. After marriage, if their husbands are not of the same [594] lineage, sisters see each other only on irregular visits, and reunions on their natal reservation. The frequency of their visits diminishes as their duties as wives and mothers increase. They become more fully integrated into their husband's community.

Between brother and sister there is a relationship of mutual respect, obligation, and interest in each other's affairs, growing out of their years of association in the parental household. A sister often returns to her natal reservation when she is widowed or otherwise [597] separated from her husband. Her brother will either take her into his own house or arrange to have a house built for her and her children. She has a privileged position in her brother's household, whether on a temporary or permanent basis. Each tends to influence the upbringing of the other's children and, as these become nubile, in assisting them with marriage.

Sisters display a great deal of affection by handholding, combing or delousing each other's hair, giving one another little gifts, and in numerous other ways. Brothers have a robust comradeship and are free and easy with each other in their social relationships. Brothers 834 and sisters do not maintain much physical distance between them- 593 selves. There are no taboos concerning bodily contact, and brothers dance with sisters at fiestas and ceremonials. They often work together, go on long trips, and even live together after their parents die.

THE JOINT-EXTENDED FAMILY

The essential structural difference between an elementary and an 596 extended family is that the former is an indivisible unit, whereas the latter is a complex unit composed of more than one elementary family. If the special relations which serve to bind the elementary-family units into an extended family should cease to operate, the extended family would cease to exist as such. The cyclical tendency whereby elementary families become extended and extended families revert to an elementary unit has already been noted as a characteristic development within the ideal multifamily system.

These cyclical changes result in adjustments in interpersonal relationships among household members. Particularly difficult adjustments may have to be made by mother- and daughter-in-law, involving

596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are [183] beneficial integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 613 621 I have equated the extended family and the *lof-che*, although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among [illegible] [illegible] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lof-che* arrangement, although not so crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In [illegible] [illegible] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lof-che* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in [183] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the [769] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

other members and, on behalf of the other members, with respect to 596
the community at large.

In extended-family arrangements brothers tend to be cooperative among themselves and submissive to their father's authority. In the absence of these conditions, the situation is conflict-ridden and the organization highly unstable. Sons often chafe under their father's control but must endure it if they have no land of their own, unless they are willing (and equipped) to give up reservation life.

Unless brothers' wives are close relatives, and sometimes when they 596
are, they are often incompatible. An especially judicious mother-in- 601
law may be able to hold this incompatibility to a minimum, but this requires continual effort on her part and is frequently no more than a delaying action. Young women are generally opposed to being either [595]
co-wives of a polygynist or sisters-in-law in the same household. They tend to enter such marriages with reservations and continually exert pressure on their husband to establish his own household. Where this is clearly impossible because of an extreme shortage of land or a recalcitrant paterfamilias, a young husband's position often becomes intolerable. Under these conditions the husband might desert his [566]
wife, who will then return to her own parent's house.

When in-married women are real or classificatory sisters, the strain is not so great. Real sisters have long been conditioned to work together, and lineage sisters have at least a long-established relationship and mutual interests to fall back on. According to informants, a significant characteristic which symbolizes the greater harmony between in-married women who are closely related is their willingness to care for and even suckle each other's children. The fact that a woman calls her own child by a very special term, *moyolpuñen* (*moyo*, breast; [601]
puñen, child) seems to heighten the sense of unity among these in-married women. The other side of this is that women in extended-family households (and even more so among co-wives in a polygynous [595]
household) frequently complain that they often have to care for the other women's children if they are occupied elsewhere.

When the women are real or classificatory sisters and are also mem- 596
bers of their mother-in-law's lineage, as would be the case if marriage 606
had been contracted matrilaterally, there is less friction on the intergenerational level. This is especially noticeable in the mother–daughter-in-law relationship. Since they are kinswomen, even though not necessarily in a close degree of relationship, there is already a set of

596 [606] rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended family. [603] For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her annoyance. [606] Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at this time. [607] If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[609] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

[594] Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need not be. 596 423 [613] One result of the establishment of an extended family is the retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

rights became established over time according to traditional Mapu- 591
che views. 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is com- [592]
ing into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-
holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even [178]
though in communities having reservation status no individual titles
to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming
increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is [428]
approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance
looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their
own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they
married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most im-
portant part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land [583]
makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded [213]
a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her
children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons
operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are
under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obliga-
tion to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married [428]
sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger
children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause
the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family
solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Ten-
sions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was
in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity.
The historic solution for reducing tension – migration – is no longer [154]
feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of [166]
course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up [578]
the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. [464]

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this 595
basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

595 former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.
[178 I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of
polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single
583] man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over
multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was
formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the
younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights
[178] over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for
males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish
rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women.
[769] One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have
been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner
of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males
on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their
spirits after their death.

[128] In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic
form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound
polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on
which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

596 For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incorporate
595 a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves
half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple
but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or
[587] more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the
widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements
which result in the formation of compound families. According to my
few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that
polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization
and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

595 There is some historical material which describes living arrangements
[596] within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive
data about interpersonal relationships – that is, not much that
serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous
compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were
ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management
of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary,
secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order
in which they were married, or whether there were other elements
such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and
so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

labor among co-wives, their relationship with each other's children, and many more matters that immediately come to mind. Historical records, therefore, are of little use in determining changes that might have taken place in the organization of these households since the reservation period. About all that is certain is that the incidence of polygyny has decreased almost to the point of extinction. 595 [178]

I have observed polygynous families living under two types of residence: single-household and *lofche*. In no instance did I encounter a relatively young polygynist. Usually the man was more than fifty years of age. None had more than three living wives, although several claimed to have had as many as five or six co-wives years before. Partly for this reason I have included as polygynists some men who were actually bigamists when I knew them. My main reason, however, is that polygynous arrangements are considered desirable in principle, attainment of polygynous status being barred by economic considerations. In any case, there are no cultural limits placed upon the number of wives a man may have at one time.

The primary wife in all instances was the first woman the polygynist had married, and was by far the oldest wife. Primary wives are called *inan θomo,* a classification based primarily on age. Secondary wives are classified together as *unan θomo,* on the basis of age in relation to the primary wife. This is as far as my data take me in this regard. Higher bride-price was paid for the primary wife than for the others, but since the younger wives were married when the social and economic milieu had undergone significant change in relation to the availability of land, and also because of prevalent attitudes of most women disdaining polygyny, I hesitate to interpret the payment of higher bride-price for a primary wife as an especially characteristic feature of polygynous marriage. Indeed, bride-price is customarily smaller in all cases of second marriage; and in (serial) monogamous situations a second wife has rights and duties comparable to the woman she replaced in the household. [601] 595 583 [589]

Each wife in a polygynous unit has rights over a garden of her own and receives a predetermined share of the harvest from her husband's fields. I could learn of no distinctions made in this regard between the primary wife and her children and the secondary wives and theirs. This might well be because the polygynist spends an equal amount of time in the dwelling of each wife, where he is fed from the larder of that particular household. 595

In only two cases did I encounter co-wives who were still sexually

595 active living with their husband under one roof. This arrangement is said to be an especially unsatisfactory one, resorted to only when the man is too poor to build an additional house for one of the women or when he is indifferent to the claims of his wives and, indeed, expects to be rid of the one who is most inconvenienced. It is interesting that nearly all the polygynists I met said that several of their former wives had left them rather than live under polygynous arrangements in one house. [583] There was no loss of bride-price in any of these instances, since the husband always retained his land. It is at this juncture, however, that indications of jealousies between co-wives are strong.

[601] Co-wives use the term *meθomo* (feces woman) with respect to each other, both as a referent and term of direct address. This symbolizes institutionalized imprecation. There need not be strong overtones of vilification involved, especially when the women are real or lineage sisters; indeed, *meθomo* is used most often when they are not so related or, if so related, the term is used jokingly.

Only two sets of co-wives were lineage sisters among all the women I spoke to in polygynous families. They were first and second wives [589] and the second had been married after the death of her first husband. This seems to indicate that co-wives in polygynous households tend to be drawn from unrelated lineages, that a man takes a socially less desirable woman as a second wife, and that polygyny establishes a more diffuse arrangement of wife-giving groups than monogamous marriage. In the cases of polygyny with which I am familiar, the sons of the polygynists had married matrilaterally but settled uxorilocally, due to scarce land on their own reservation.

Sexual jealousy among co-wives results when their husband shows favoritism to one of them. The sexual favorite is usually the latest wife, and this is expected by the other women. But if favoritism continues to be shown for more than a month or so the other wives rail against their husband and are hostile to the newcomer. Sickness and [754] death among co-wives is usually charged to sorcery, with one or all the other wives being suspect. There was not one of the polygynists (or men who had had multiple wives in the past) who had not had some experience with charges of sorcery among his wives. The best thing a man can do in this case is to remain neutral himself but hire a shaman to practice countermagic. If the ailing wife recovered and none of the other wives were affected by the shaman's machinations, a great measure of family harmony was restored. I cannot speak of

this situation from firsthand knowledge, since in the polygynous 595
households I knew there was usually such discrepancy between the
youngest, most attractive woman and the other wives that favoritism
toward the younger seemed not to disturb the others. The important
thing in all situations of this sort seems to have been the ability of
the polygynist to show equal attention to all wives in regard to the
distribution of food, clothing, and other necessary and luxury goods.
There quite possibly was an additional factor involved in the inheritance
due to the sons of the older women, although my knowledge of
this matter is too sketchy to permit generalization.

I was able to discover almost nothing about the status of the children
of the several wives in polygynous households. If one wife dies [853]
in childbirth or while she is still suckling her infant, the other wives [846]
will take turns caring for the child, those lactating also giving it the
breast. Apparently this is not done willingly, but at the command
of the polygynist, who emphasizes the moral obligation the surviving
wives owe to his heir.

A child soon comes to know its own mother. This results from the 595
care she gives it and because she is the one who orders it about the 854
household. As soon as the child is able to walk it begins performing
small chores for its actual mother. If the polygynous family shares a
common dwelling (as was the case in two situations I observed), the
mother takes her children with her whenever she leaves the house.
If her work outside the house, in the garden or fields, prevents her
from taking an infant with her, another woman assumes the responsibility
for its care—again a moral responsibility enforced by the
husband. A child distinguishes between "own mother" (*ñuke*) and [601]
"other mother" (*kañuke*) in a polygynous household. Own mother
may also be called *ñoño*, a special term of endearment.

One thing that struck me as significant is that few grown sons and 595
daughters were in evidence, although there were always small children.
I was told that the young women who had not married had left [167]
the reservation for employment in Chilean towns, and that most of
the young men had done likewise. Some of the grown sons had married
uxorilocally, for the usual reason that by doing so they obtained
access to adequate land. In each household there was at least one
adult son of the polygynist. Although these sons were of nubile age
none had any plans for marriage while their father lived. They were
usually but not always sons of the primary wife. It was asserted that [589]
none of the sons would inherit any of his father's wives through mar- [768]

595 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by
589 non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older
968 sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and
their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return
to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there
would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under
the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller
acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the
[554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men.
They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and
were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do
[831] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as
[837] the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities
for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to
say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although
these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[596] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more
[594] simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In
terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is
little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It
is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that
complications arise from which tensions might result as the children
become older.

595 When the children are related through the father and therefore are
428 all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along
[613] expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers
who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement
whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the
second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her
husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that
[169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which
will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they
tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society.
This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the
secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of
[618] her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance
[587] and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member 595
of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a 428
lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her 613
children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. 618
There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings
which they may exercise – a condition which considerably eases the 587
tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If
the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated
to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to
those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their
sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing
to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently,
their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce,
they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage
brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children
are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are
also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of
their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose
residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious 554
status[1] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they 548
are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne 848
an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

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[1] [i.e.--Children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather--Analyst]

7

Courtship and Marriage

58 [851] Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, and all bonds ramifying through a more extensive social aggregate. 851 The birth of children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

584 Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. [836] With this understanding, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

128 This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with pertinent attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and 128 the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. 883 591 177 While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of 857 864 nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse 833 between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

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Mapuche

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the
next, depending on household composition and living arrangements,
864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the
sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put
straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after
prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Courtship
[836] itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual
[584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality
among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after
[592] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human
and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous.
[595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a
wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally
associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock animals,
[231] aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their
economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation
[561] of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly
about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be
maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions
864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge
[831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent
sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory
to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but
very little information about sexual functions passes directly from
father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of
their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of
soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity
is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation
and direct experience. During this process they are under
the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire
[831] should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear
statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is
[836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict
their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to
keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression
unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals 835
concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous
relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestu-
ous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social [884]
ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly im- [885]
mutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not 813
closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reser-
vation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late
adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with
other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and
girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual
strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is
increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might [897]
be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin
to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This ap-
plies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely
housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until
they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not
until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early 833
adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it 836
is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under
the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are
known to loiter on the way home from school or at a [illegible] while
fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often
occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experi-
mental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's
parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not par-
ticularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and
told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he
might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings.
A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely
watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscu-
ous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from
discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at
home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some dis-
tance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and
husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls 836

836 having a large number of alliances at one time, although adolescent sex relationships are rarely enduring. Prolonged bad weather, which makes outdoor trysting difficult in winter, is often sufficient cause to terminate an affair. Few early romances lead to marriage. When individuals leave school, in late adolescence, their range of contacts diminishes. Sexual activity either becomes concentrated on one lover or drops off sharply. An unmarried man of thirty years has generally not known many women, even though his sexual activity might have been rather intensive during adolescence.

835 836 It is primarily at school that boys make the acquaintance of girls from other reservations to whom they are either unrelated or stand in an affinal relationship in which sexual relations and marriage are not proscribed. Sexual relations between members of the same reservation sometimes take place when no patrilineal ties can be demonstrated. Even so, public sentiment is generally against such affairs, especially if they tend toward marriage. Some adolescent alliances that were brought to my attention were within the proscribed group, but these were in the minority of all cases of premarital liaisons that took place on a sustained basis. The infraction of incest rules by young people is partly a result of their ignorance of the kinship tie and its significance.

835 Within the patrilineage, sexual relations are avoided and marriage is not considered. Older people maintain that children eventually learn the rules and, even when young and impetuous, tend to "respect" their close patrilineal relatives, an attitude inculcated in them since childhood. Elders say that an infraction of the rule of incest becomes important when a young man is "foolish" or "stubborn" and persists in his attentions to a closely related girl, even after they are both old enough to accept the moral responsibility of adulthood. Pregnancy brings such a situation to the attention of everyone, and the matter becomes of considerable gravity to the community. Further reference will be made to this in the following section.

836 After finishing school and remaining home to work, one's sexual outlets are more restricted, more opportunistic, and daily rendezvous seldom possible. Meetings continue to be made at fiestas, ceremonies, and in town. Despite Catholic overtones, fiestas are considered es-
[529] sentially secular affairs by the Mapuche. They range in size from large
[573] public gatherings to rather small impromptu ones and always feature dancing and drinking. Since older people are generally present and prominent as quasi-chaperones, there is rarely adequate privacy for

anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain 836 dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the [535] *ñillatun* rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances. Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial [584] dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become 836 concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to 584 courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from [593] males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he [605] also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally dissembled by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are 836 no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage 848 is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

584 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will
836 make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so im-
848 mediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already be-
583 trothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the
836 grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forth-
coming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are
848 under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A mar-
581 riage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused
423 land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But
622 on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the 423
authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land 583
in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a 583
young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is 584
engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families [578]
and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young [167]
couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and 584
then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to 836
exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they 848
speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's [167]
life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the [578]
young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him [558]

574
836 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would
948 be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being
578 unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the pri-
558 mary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger
of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make
responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The
[177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from
a Chilean system of values.

754 The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love
836 affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[802] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed
against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In
681 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the
692 national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according
754 to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur-
682 der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of
839 adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this
836 practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who
had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said
[628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or
the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close.
754 Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is
178 usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the
628 past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category
of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circum-
692 stances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly
involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared 836 in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed [854] at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, [167] this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of [178] life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker – outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reserva- 836/578 tion I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This [628] should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment – no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk [273] and meet in public – at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. 836 Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, mem- 836 bers of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. 835 Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

836 the possibility of pregnancy. When the matter was finally called to
835 the attention of the young man's mother, the affair was effectively
terminated.

The families of the two individuals involved were close friends who visited each other often for the purpose of eating, drinking, singing, and dancing. There was also economic cooperation between them and a liberal exchange of food in the form of gifts. A little boy of one of the families worked for the other and performed household chores and tended the stock, for which he received food and a place to sleep.

On each occasion after an evening get-together at the house of the young man, the oldest daughter of the other family found some pretext for the young man to accompany her outside the house. He did not always respond. He denied that he did any more than walk her part of the way home, since her parents were usually too drunk to follow a direct route to their house. His brother laughed at these explanations and, in this context, his mother's obvious disapproval of the girl seemed based on her suspicion that the purpose of walking the girl home was amorous.

One evening when the young man did not walk the girl home, his brother teased him about it until they almost came to blows. In the argument, the young man said that he was not worried about having to marry her if she became pregnant, because any man for miles around could be accused of fathering her offspring, that she was like her mother in this respect. Since she was thought to be promiscuous, she was considered fair game. This reasoning put an end to a heated argument as far as the brothers were concerned, but it led to their mother's grumbling about the immorality of incest and the evil it would bring. It is unlikely that the mother had been oblivious of the relationship between the girl and her son, but having it called forcefully to her attention caused her to speak out against it in traditional terms. Her continual reference to the matter during subsequent days, especially at mealtime and to everyone's annoyance, seems to have had the results she desired. The young man did not tryst with the girl as far as I know, and she stopped accompanying her family to his house after the next two visits.

[592] There are several important factors involved in this case. For one thing the mother's influence over her oldest son, a young man of about thirty who had been head of the household since his father died, comes into view. The issue of promiscuity is raised, and is sufficient

to settle a very heated argument. Finally, there is a clash of opinion 836
over the definition of incest. The old woman's view prohibits sexual 835
relations between members of the same patrilineage, regardless of the
exact degree of relationship. Opposition to marriage within these
limits is general. But the young men, "like the Chileans," do not [171]
feel that lineality per se is as much a factor in defining incest as the
degree of consanguineal relationship. In this case the young man and
woman involved stood in the relationship of, respectively, father's
father's brother's son's son and father's father's brother's son's
daughter.

The second example involves an incestuous affair between a young 835
man and his father's sister, a woman of about thirty-five years of age
who was childless and a widow. The young man, Antemil, had gone [589]
to live with his aunt after her husband died, for she requested the
young man's father to send one of his sons to work her fields and
assist her in other ways. This arrangement lasted for several years,
during which time Antemil and his aunt visited their natal reservation a few times each year.

Antemil's parents encouraged his aunt to be sure he did not get into trouble with any of the young girls on the other reservation, and were pleased to learn from her that Antemil secretly admired one of the daughters of a well-to-do household in the vicinity. There was a shortage of land in Antemil's family, which was quite willing for him to marry and live uxorilocally. He was noncommittal on the subject, but the aunt promised to watch over him and speak to the young woman's mother about the possibility of a match. The discussion continued each time Antemil and his aunt visited the boy's parents, but seems to have trailed off after a year or so. The possibility that Antemil would marry and live on a distant reservation was known by many people on his natal reservation. Some of them felt that "something must be wrong" because there was too much discussion and no marriage. While this is likely no more than hindsight, it shows that even though incest might have been suspected nothing was done to prevent it. The boy's father, however, maintained that he did not suspect anything wrong.

Finally, Antemil returned home and announced that his aunt was pregnant and that the people were blaming it on him. The aunt denied having incestuous relations, however. Antemil's father paid his sister a visit to determine the situation for himself and returned convinced that the two were guilty of incest. He had made an offer

835 of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

836 754 762 [848] [849] The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby – which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it – to a witch who performs *koftun*. [848] If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Kofitun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *kofitun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.) 754 754 164

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *kofitun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *kofitun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry. 848 847 584 849

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white. 591 843

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored. 584

584 it may be defined today with regard to family sponsorship through
583 the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities
entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages
continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under condi-
tions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material
impoverishment, marriage is contracted only with family approval,
unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift
for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

583 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His
attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where
[592] there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest
when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the ego's
own patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through
his mother or another female affine of his patrilineage—that is,
groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.
584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the
approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined
multilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible
today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded
practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Moesbach, 1936:172–89). Sec-
587 ondary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have
tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their
frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in
the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some mar-
riages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:722). This involves a mock battle
which has been prearranged by some members of both families.
Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an em-
bellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage
steps between proud and important families who are desirous of ad-
ditional fanfare. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of
the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
[581] puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in
the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding
[583] arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangements might follow
a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
078 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho- 585
lic rites, important less for the religious significance than because 428
church registration and the civil registration which accompanies [177]
Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework
of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow
stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will
stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of [671]
the dead man's brothers.

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* in- 583
volves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set.

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, 583
and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and 581
discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and

583 that this could not be arranged until the following season; or the
581 father will speak of waiting until some arrangement can be made for allotting his son a section of his fields for his own use, a complicated decision requiring much time-consuming deliberation. Since the matter of land is a paramount issue, the father will question his son about how he feels a fair arrangement could be made, taking all his other dependents into consideration. He will sometimes complain that the homestead is overcrowded and would not house an additional family, again suggesting that the marriage be postponed until the question of land and the matter of living accommodations can be settled.

583 These dilatory tactics might continue for a day or more. If the father seems to be losing ground, in the sense that the other household members appear willing to accept the marriage as a *fait accompli*, he might call in one or more of his brothers or even the chief, to back his authority and lend more weight to his arguments. It is said, however, that a father's wisdom sometimes convinces him that the arguments against his son's marriage are illogical and, if there is really no economic deterrent, he generally accepts the situation, saying that he will try to make the best arrangements possible.

If the idea of marriage is wholly uncongenial to the man's father, that is, if he feels that the girl will not do as a wife, he may bluntly tell her that she will have to return to her own household and that no marriage will be forthcoming. This results in a rupture between father and son and precipitates a family crisis. Nor does it by any means cement relationships with the girl's family. The young man's brothers might sympathize with him, feeling that the old man is unreasonable and cantankerous, or they might side with the father, dismissing their brother's plans as immature, impracticable, and possibly a threat to them. The son often leaves the parental roof under these circumstances, perhaps gauging the tone of his parting words by his father's firmness. If the father is sufficiently provoked by his son's action, he may threaten him with disinheritance. If the son feels that he can come to a satisfactory arrangement with his brothers after the old man's death, the threat will carry little conviction and the youth will follow through with his plan of leaving his father's house in angry pride. If the young man is not considered undesirable, he will not be refused a place to live and land to work after the old man's death.

If the girl's parents are not in favor of her marriage, they will come to take her home. Under most conditions she will be released to them,

unless the young couple take matters into their own hands and run 583
away from the reservation altogether. If they run away, a good deal of the responsibility rests with the father of the young man, and strained feelings result between the two families.

When all goes well, however, and the parents of both accept the 583
elopement, marriage plans are begun in earnest. The young woman 584
might return to her family household in the interim to assist in the completion of her trousseau. This interlude gives both families time to prepare the marriage wealth and settle many marriage details. Negotiations are practically identical whether or not elopement occurs.

Kureyewen, then, serves to hasten marriage, provided the alliance is viewed favorably by both families. It may also result in a nontraditional marriage and in the young couple's leaving the reservation. If it is successful, the couple remain with the young man's parents for several days, while the father's brother and one or more kinsmen go to the girl's house and formally notify her parents that marriage is proposed and that they are desirous of coming to an amicable agreement, with the appropriate ceremonial conclusion as tradition dictates. Essentially the same procedure is followed if the marriage is initiated wholly by arrangement without elopement as a factor, but the girl would not have left her parental roof. The preliminaries might be more difficult to settle, since the young man would have to convince his father and his spokesmen of the propitiousness of the marriage without the catalytic aid of elopement. Furthermore, the father of the girl would be in a position to delay the marriage as long as his daughter was in his household. There would be no sense of urgency, and, even though both families were sympathetic toward the marriage, preparations could be drawn out almost endlessly. It sometimes happens that elopement takes place precisely at the point when arrangements seem to have bogged down.

In any case, a serious young man generally will have busied himself with preparations for marriage by obtaining some commitments from his father and kinsmen for getting together the bride-price, in order to supplement whatever wealth he might possess in his own right. He will very likely have spoken abstractly of marriage with a number of his relatives and will have some idea of what their contributions might be.

Lineage contributions are of considerable symbolic importance, 583
but the material assistance given the young man is not necessarily [613]
great.

583 great. The essentials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [423] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

584 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *tukulthungung*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *ñillanthungung*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional matrilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal [582] relatives through former marriages.

583 584 After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are feted by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment — a matter of a few pesos — on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

585 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her 585
sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades.

There then takes place another *ñillanthungung*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and [584] those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer.

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat [262] horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and [252] eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, [273] and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able.

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes sororal rights in the [587]

585 587 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillanthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. [583] The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep [262] for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *tukul napiñin*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

178 584 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's [583] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's 178
father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the mar- 584
riage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does
the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight any- [622]
more, since his control over reservation land has diminished during
the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary 591
for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The
period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one
thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this
is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment
for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house- [342]
building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after
the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on
which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it
is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the
new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the
delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a
further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is some-
times necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actu-
ally reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own
house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents
until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's
father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young
newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there
may continue to be a close working relationship between a man
and his father's household — indeed, the young man usually continues
in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first
few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even in- 584
cluding some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of
informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed [585]
some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the
amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their im-
portance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillanthungung* oc-
curred, and the presence or absence of *mafulun*. These are variations
within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place
more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have
not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evi- [583]
dence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

584 583 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

587 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either [586] men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to [595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 589 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will [591] reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 178 589 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

587 178 589 ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in prereservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare.

587 595 When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. [591] In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence.

587 595 554 In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan θomo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. [428] The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved.

[851] In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. [428] The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally.

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595 Filial inheritance of views[1] is reported in the historic literature as well as in oral histories, but is now said to be unthinkable by most Mapuche if it implies sexual intercourse between the heir and his father's wives. Many informants claimed to recall such arrangements having occurred a generation or more ago, but emphasized that marriage was not involved, there being no ceremony. If sexual intercourse occurred, it was between a man and one of the younger wives of his father, not his own mother or women on her age level. Filial inheritance has disappeared with the passage of large compound households. If a son lives with his widowed mother, a situation which is very common today, this is not considered filial inheritance of father's widow. Indeed, it seems only to have occurred in the past when there were multiple wives who had no other means of support. Economic responsibility was the feature which characterized the relationship.

SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

586 Divorce implies some disposition of marriage wealth at the termination of the marriage. If the woman leaves her husband's reservation, she relinquishes rights to the land. This is the functional equivalent of returning the bride-price. Her family once more assumes responsibility for her support by making a place for her on her natal reservation, either on land which she might claim as her own or in the household of one of her close relatives.

The children of the divorced couple retain membership in their father's patrilineage, although there is a tendency for the younger children to return with their mother to her reservation, in which case they assume a peripheral position in relation to their mother's brother's residential kingroup. The extent to which they become integrated into this residential unit depends largely on the position of their mother in her natal group. It is customary for these children to acquire certain rights over land after their mother dies (if she is a *radicada*) or when the boys are ready to marry. Therefore, as the boys marry, an additional segment of their patrilineage becomes established. However, since there is a good deal of competition for land on today's reservations, these children might have great difficulty in exercising any claims. There is a tendency for them to marry uxorilocally or, if possible, to return to their father's reservation. Perhaps
[167] the most common tendency is for them to emigrate, leaving the res-

[1] [possibly "wives" is meant. —Analyst]

ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce land. 586 [167]

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved [837] in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage.

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, 613 but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their 428 mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to [586] land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own [618] father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak — they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to [464] [167] become career soldiers or policemen.

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Part Three

INTERRESERVATIONAL LINKAGE

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8

The Structure of Matrilateral Marriage

In the preceding chapter courtship and marriage customs were viewed in terms of social attitudes toward sex and opportunities for sexual experience among young people, the handling of illicit love affairs involving incest or illegitimate birth, matrimonial arrangements between kingroups, and the contraction of secondary unions. It was suggested that the apparently wider, freer, and more sustained relationships among peers during adolescence have not appreciably affected patterns of courtship and marriage. We will take up this point shortly. 128

In the present chapter, preferred matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage will be considered in terms of its structure, that is, in terms of the ordered sets of relationships established between groups and individuals whose status and role sets are defined by membership in local descent groups or localized patrilineages.[1] One such group stands in a special relationship to one or more homologous groups with regard to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. 582

The term "matrilateral" has been established in current anthropological literature, usually in place of "mother's brother's daughter," in connection with type marriages involving a man's mother's patri-

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[1] For many of my observations about the Mapuche system of preferential marriage I am indebted to Leach's classic article, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," *JRAI*, Vol. LXXXI, 1951. [127]

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582 lineage. It is a more satisfactory term precisely because of its greater inclusiveness in implying the involvement of "classificatory" rather than "real" mother's brothers and their daughters. It connotes relationships between lineage groups, between men and women of one group qua group with men and women of a homologous group. It is used here in this latter sense.

Still, the term is not wholly satisfactory. Insofar as "matrilateral" is combined with "cousin," there tends to be too great a genealogical and generational overtone to the phrase. Furthermore, it suggests an all too rigid system in failing to cover marriages which are essentially matrilateral but not contracted with a female of the mother's lineage. More will be said of this later.

INCEST AND EXOGAMY

835 Araucanian ethnological literature contains references to incest relationships of all degrees. Clear distinctions between sexual intercourse on the one hand and contractual marriage on the other have not been made in consideration of incestuous relationships; or, if implied, not consistently. The allegation that the Mapuche committed all degrees of incest at their notorious drinking bouts seems an overstatement, at least as far as a high incidence is implied. The question of mother-son incest in connection with filial inheritance of wives appears to be a false issue resulting from a misunderstanding of the nature of such inheritance and, perhaps, of the classificatory kinship terminology and relationships in general.

In all fairness, the ease of dismissing early ethnographic reports simply on the grounds of inadequate data and now outmoded theoretical assumptions and research methods is here acknowledged. What matters is that incest is not today of the order described in the past (cf. Titiev, 1951:38n). Furthermore, mere sexual connection between individuals standing in a proscribed category should not be considered on the same level of sociological analysis as marriage.

582 When questioned about what constitutes incest, the Mapuche consistently phrase their answers in terms of "marriage with *close* relatives." Marriage with a lineage member is proscribed, these individuals being designated as *hiñeche* or *familia*, neither a very precise term. If pressed for examples, they usually state that marriage is forbidden between a man and his father's sister, father's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. It is recognized that father's sister's

daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered 582
too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would
be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should
take.

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between 835
individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to
maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community
censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence,
are brought to the attention of the community are considered [681]
serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The
partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if [622]
they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion
of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong
censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated.
Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are
able to restore the status quo.

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants 124
who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator 835
is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the
question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough
reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that
some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of
incest attained.

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's 582
father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who
are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man
does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's
daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his
mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data
seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers'
sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage
rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter
and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral
marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely
outside his cognatic group.

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and 587
widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a
man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental
generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife.
The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common

587 that filial inheritance of wives, if for no other reason than that filial inheritance occurs only once to an indeterminate number of the other types of marriage preceding it. A cultural rather than an arithmetical reason, however, is that males of the father's generation comprise a sibling group to which sororal and widow-inheritance rights accrue in a polygynous society, and it is with these individuals that authority is vested in the patrilineal system. Filial inheritance, therefore, seems to have been a last-ditch alternative, resorted to only when responsible males of the parental generation were lacking — a situation almost without applicability under today's reservation conditions.

582 But if we grant our predecessors' (e.g. see Cooper, 1946:719) contention that filial inheritance occurred and that it reflects a theory of marriage and intergroup relationships regardless of its incidence, why are the mother's sister and father's brother's wife normally regarded by ego as unmarriageable and treated with "much respect"? I suggest the point to be emphasized is that these women are not considered eligible as sexual or marriage partners until their husband's death leaves them once more available. And then, they are generally considered marriageable only within their own age level. Stated in other terms, these women as widows are married by ego's parental-generation kinsmen under conditions of widow inheritance and sororate. This tendency is abrogated in the practice of filial inheritance of wives, which, however, is functionally similar to the inheritance of the widow by a lineage brother of the deceased. Where other solutions exist, filial inheritance is not practiced. [587] The indications from the literature, genealogies, and general oral tradition are that this has been the situation at least since the latter part of the nineteenth century. [197] This should be kept in mind when it is alleged that Mapuche concepts of proper marriage have been considerably influenced by Chilean Christian values.

The importance of this whole discussion of incest outside the patrilineage is that it is seen by informants to concern actual individuals standing to them in a concrete relationship which results from contracted marriage. It is with the father's brother's wife and the mother's sister as married women that feelings of "much respect" are involved. Furthermore, it is with actual rather than classificatory relatives that the definition of incest is most clear — and this is where the notion of "closeness" comes in.

The answer to the question, "Why does one not marry a mother's sister's daughter?" is self-evident, provided by the matrilateral system itself. Thinking in terms of an ego chart might tend to confuse the matter, though, so a word of explanation is in order. If mother's sister has married according to the preferred rule, she is then the wife of a member of one's own lineage (e.g. a father's brother) and herself a member of one's residential kingroup. Her daughter is a classificatory sibling and, as such, proscribed. If mother's sister marries a man from another lineage, as sometimes happens, the pattern has been broken and grounds for a feeling of "distance" in the relationship have been laid. In short, the daughter of this woman is considered a matrilateral relative (though no longer of one's mother's lineage) and a potential, if not preferential, spouse. 582

These remarks should not be construed as an attempt to explain the origin of matrilateral preference. There are indications that symmetrical cross-cousin marriage might have been practiced during the early colonial period (Faron, 1956:440 ff.), and that because of a change in residence patterns and the composition of local groups, greater emphasis was placed on multiple marriages with the maternal kingroup. But the vagueness of such historical material makes for quite tentative hypotheses of the sort which would not clarify contemporary Mapuche marriage practices. [178]

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER AND THE FATHER'S SISTER

Strong ties between families are usually implied in situations where traditional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced. The Mapuche tend to see the relationships in terms of actual family members, in regard to which traditional pre- and postmarital behavior is discussed. The matter can be elucidated only if we discard this "ideal" way of looking at things in favor of examining the actual group-to-group relationships that exist. We take exception to the somewhat vague Mapuche feeling that marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter was prevalent and almost obligatory a generation ago, maintaining that this is a cultural device for describing in highly personal, familial terms a relationship which has great solidary significance for suprafamilial units, for two localized lineage groups maintaining a relationship of sustained intermarriage. In any case, the supposed prevalence of marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter is 582 609 613

582 not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered.
613 Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the
[604] notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

[604] In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's
601 sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories – and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[2]

582 Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness."
[584] A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law
[604] relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

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[114] [2] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of *authority* and *sentiment*, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

MODEL SYSTEMS

There are, I may say, two model systems of Mapuche matrilateral 582 cross-cousin marriage. One is that seen by the Mapuche; [a] the other is one I will present shortly. Both are abstractions which serve analytic purposes. First we will discuss the Mapuche model.

As already indicated, the Mapuche think in terms of closeness and distance of relationships and have their own reasons for this. They think, however, that marriage between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother is an ideal relationship. Yet this is thought of as an old ideal, one no longer strictly adhered to, although almost universal in the past. Mother's brother's daughter marriage is said to have been "almost obligatory" (*casi obligatorio*), having almost the force of "law" (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. If this is true, why, then, is so much importance attached to courtship, and why the numerous stories about elopement today and in the past?

A superficial examination of the situation would suggest that court- 582 ship has increased in importance in proportion to the decline of 178 mother's brother's daughter marriages, and that this situation results from the breakdown of parochial aspects of reservation life and the establishment of wider interpersonal and intergroup contacts in the indigenous zone. This is a somewhat seductive hypothesis, since it seems partly borne out by observation and is rather readily acknowledged by the Mapuche themselves.

The older people, especially, speak rather righteously about marriage with the mother's brother's daughter (father's sister's son) and tend to bemoan its passing as evidence of a general decline in Mapuche cultural integrity. Younger people say that things are changing and many of the traditional ways are being abandoned. These are the kinds of statements with which all field workers are familiar.

Genealogical reconstruction shows the persistence of matrilateral marriage into the present on a large scale, but seems to indicate that *admapu* is and has been for several generations shamefully disregarded since in only a small portion of the genealogies is marriage with a "real" mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's son revealed. When this is pointed out to people in general they explain such situations as departures from the ideal form. When they realize that their own marriage conflicts with the notion of mother's brother's

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[a] The brief analysis of marriage presented in my 1956 paper was made with this model in mind.

583 daughter marriage being *admapu* a generation or so ago, they place
178 emphasis on the "or so," pushing the ideal type back in time to around the beginning of the reservation system or even before. In the time of
[613] which they speak, there is good evidence to show that marriage was strictly an interhousehold affair, there being no localized corporate patrilineages. But what they speak of does not describe the ongoing marriage system, the system which has been in existence since around the turn of the century.

582 In any case, marriage with classificatory mother's brothers' daughters is regarded as somehow less traditional and, therefore, not correct. It is sometimes said that custom was satisfied if only one of several brothers married his mother's brother's daughter, and the occasional occurrences of such marriages in the genealogies are said to represent this condition, *admapu* being cleverly or at least purposely circumvented. This does not tell why all the available "real" mother's brothers' daughters were not married by their "real" father's sisters' sons before classificatory cross-cousins became involved. It certainly smacks of rationalization. It might serve to shed some doubt on arguments for the existence of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage based on bonds of *sentiment* between sister's sons and mother's brothers.

The principal objections to the Mapuche model are that it is conceived from an ego point of view in a postmarital set of relationships, that it deals with "real" mother's brothers (cf. Titiev, 1951:42, 46, concerning Mapuche inability to generalize about certain relatives), and that it is phrased in terms of individuals rather than groups. Among the Mapuche, matrilateral marriage is a phenomenon of
[613] group interaction. One's mother serves as a bridge to marriageable women of her lineage, the daughters, granddaughters, and younger sisters of both "real" and classificatory mother's brothers.

Diagram II is a model constructed along lineage lines, localized descent groups, and is patterned after models which appear in connection with unilateral marriage systems in anthropological literature. It has its inadequacies, but it will serve for a preliminary discussion.

I have shown only three generations, ego's and the two ascending, because as a young man these are ego's most important relatives, even though he could conceivably have "great-grandparents" and very likely "nephews and nieces." Those of the generation below ego become important as he in turn becomes a "mother's brother" of social significance. I am speaking now in the context of matrilateral cross-

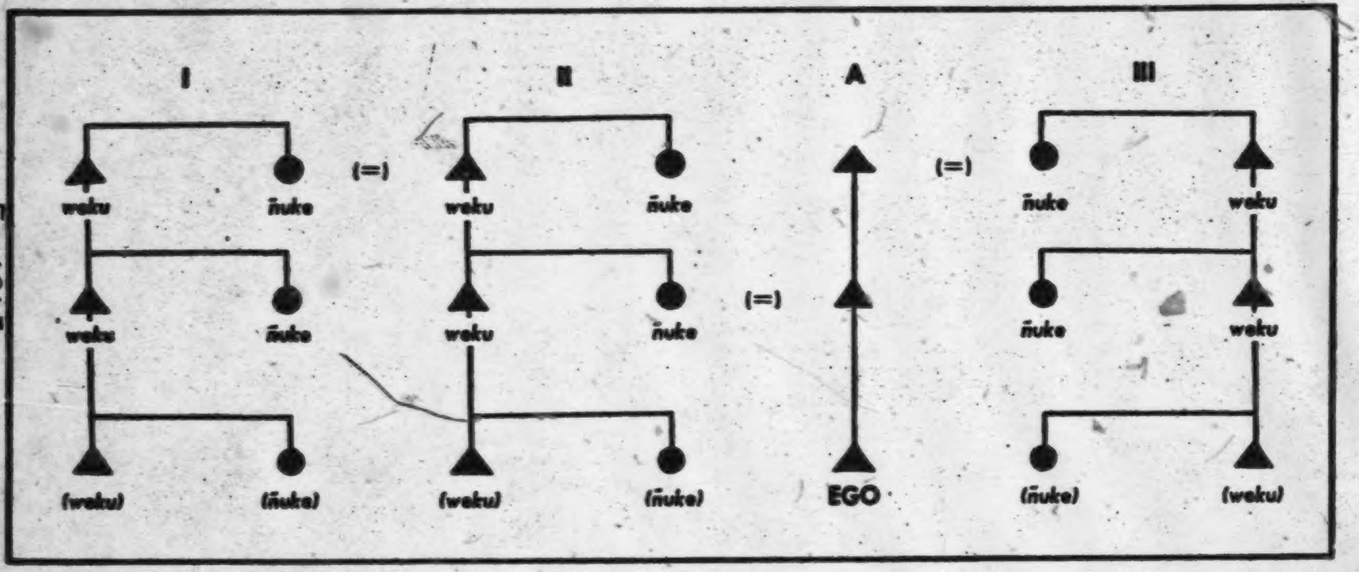
I
II
A
III
weku
ñuke
(=)
weku
ñuke
(weku)
(ñuke)
(=)
EGO
(ñuke)
(weku)

Diagram II

582 cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's [604] children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain [606] that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry. I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of the Mapuche.[4]

613 582 Diagram II is designed to tell the following story. A special relationship has come about involving four localized lineages (I, II, III, and A) through what I have shown to be a minimum of three strategic marriages. It is not the intention of the diagram to unite any two persons by the marriage symbols, the reason for their being enclosed in parentheses. Rather, *some* marriage is indicated as having taken place at the generational levels shown. This takes the diagram out of the standard ego-chart class, since no "real" relatives, even in ego's lineage, are necessarily indicated.[5]

Lineage I gave a woman to a man in lineage II; lineage III gave a woman to a man in lineage A. At this stage there is no particular harm in phrasing the relationships in terms of single individuals, since it might be assumed that no previous marriages had taken place between the groups.[6] On the next generation, lineage II also gave a woman to lineage A. From an ego point of view we now have these

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[4] Guevara, 1908:57, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the actors are taken to be "real" and united through the marriages shown, then *weku* in lineages I and II would read *chethki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, *weku* in lineage III would read *laku*. Similarly, *ñuke* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *kuku*. The other terms would remain the same (cf. Faron, 1956:449).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships *within a matrilateral system*, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.

582 613 relationships between the four lineages: lineage I is that of the mother's mother, lineage II is that of the mother, lineage III is that of the father's mother. By extending descent lines to the great-grandparental generation two more groups could be added, those of the mother's mother's mother's and father's mother's mother's lineages. More will be said about this later when the significance of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups is considered.

Under the rules of matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage, the exogamous group is defined, and men from lineage I do not take wives from II, but stand in the relationship of wife giver and wife receiver, respectively. That is the logic of the system. Sometimes it is circumvented, but always under special circumstances and erratically. Lineages II and III also give women to lineage A, and under the system this is not reversible. But A may take wives from lineage I. Here we begin to glimpse the flexibility of the matrilateral marriage system in practice.

582 Age differences are not shown in the diagram either between or within "generations." Ego has preferred mates (*ñuke*) on his father's generation, on his own, and, as a mature adult, on the first descending generation. Actually, a man tends to marry women of roughly his own age or younger, although these may be genealogically on his father's generation. Depending on how many generations descent is traced back in time, a man could have marriageable women of the genealogical grandparental, great-grandparental, etc., generations. However, the Mapuche usually do not keep track of kinship ties beyond [602] the third ascending generation with any accuracy. Marriage with women known to be on the genealogically parental generation is not common, and that with women on the genealogically grandparental generation extremely rare. Stated differently, *under the conditions given in the model*, the range of cognatic relatives of marriageable degree is pretty much that indicated in Diagram II. It must be understood that most of the available women (*ñuke*) on a wife-giving reservation will be roughly ego's age or younger, the older women married and living elsewhere.

THE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

In view of the foregoing discussion, I think it is now time to abandon the phrases "mother's brother's daughter marriage" and "matri-

582 lateral cross-cousin marriage" and, while using ego for specific genealogical reconstructions, employ the general term "matrilateral marriage." Even "matrilateral marriage" has its limitations, but it describes the ongoing system better than the other phrases. It is a more inclusive concept and does not have the misleading implications that "real" mother's brothers are primarily involved or that genealogical generation membership affects the structure of matrilateral marriage.

[124] I take my cue from the Mapuche themselves, who are often quite patient with regard to the anthropologist's painstaking efforts to collect kinship terminology for his ego chart, but often seem not to reason as ego should, and later contradict themselves concerning expectable correlations between kinship terminology and behavior. In [601] their wide-range classificatory system, *ñuke* is a composite woman. *Ñuke* is all the females of a wife-giving group who are potentially available to a young man. This does not appear clearly in the ego chart, where ego calls his maternal grandmothers by other terms than *ñuke*.

Informants, thinking in concrete terms, give appropriate nomenclature for the very real actors appearing on the ego chart, who are actually married in the ways shown on the chart and stand to one another as husband and wife, grandfather and grandmother, children of so-and-so, and so forth. Should this sound implausible, let one ask himself, "What does ego's father call ego's maternal 'grandmothers'?" The answer is *ñuke*, if he has married matrilaterally. In short, all the men of ego's lineage call all the marriageable females of the lineage whence they take wives under the matrilateral system by the same term, *ñuke*. The ordinary kinship chart shows concrete relationships in a postmarriage framework for the most part, which do not reflect the group aspects involved in matrilateral marriage. The failure to recognize this results in interpretative difficulties.[7]

While tending to think in terms of past marriages and concrete relationships involved in and resulting from such unions, the Mapuche actually operate within a framework of group relationships

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601 [7] Cf. Titiev, 1951:50, concerning terminological identification of women on one's own and parental generations. Also, Titiev mentions (1951:44) that "So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely [i.e. rather than just for actual mother's brother's daughter] for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses." I contend that this is appropriately rather than "loosely" used to denote marriageable females of wife-giving groups, once one perceives the system. The confusion comes from thinking in terms of actors on the kinship chart or, at most, individual family units already closely related through marriage.

insofar as preferred matrilateral marriages are concerned. Conceptualization of this order eliminates the necessity of establishing exact genealogical connections for the twofold purpose of marrying exogamously and marrying matrilaterally. 582

If, for example, a man's forbears married women from X lineage, localized on a certain reservation, he might look there for a wife knowing only that there had been an affinal relationship established in the past. Being directly related to a single family through, say, the marriage of a "grandfather," he has access to all the marriageable females of his paternal grandmother's lineage or, if his own father had so married, to his mother's lineage females, which is the same thing. However, if father and grandfather had married into different groups, our hypothetical ego would have at least two possibilities for marrying matrilaterally. If we change from an individual (ego) to a group (lineage) point of view, we may say that ego's lineage can obtain women from these two wife-giving groups. 582 613

It will be remembered that the Mapuche practiced polygyny on a grand scale, *lonkos* having many wives and *konas* having two or more. Polygyny involved sororal marriage and widow inheritance. These customs are only now dying out, the practice of polygyny beginning to diminish after the inception of the present reservation system around the turn of the century, and for good and sufficient demographic and ecological reasons. 595 582 613 [182]

If ego's father married two women from different lineages, ego would have two different wife-giving groups. So would all his "brothers," "father's brothers," and so forth. If ego's father's brother married a woman from yet another lineage, then ego would have three lineages of wife givers from which to choose, and so would the rest of his lineage males. If ego's mother's brother does not marry matrilaterally, then ego, in marrying mother's brother's daughter, also establishes a tie with another wife-giving group. The actual degree of kinship and certain obvious situational factors define the meaningfulness of such connections.

The operation of polygyny, in which a man takes women from several lineages, establishing as many wife-giving lineages for the males of his own lineage, has created a network of relationships much more complex than the simple pairing of wife givers and wife receivers in a circular system or otherwise would suggest. These ties have ramified almost beyond the possibility of determination by tra-

582 595 613 ditional ethnographic techniques, but it seems likely that the whole of Mapuche society is linked together by matrilateral marriage connections. The sororate and widow-inheritance forms of polygyny have tended to limit the number of wife-giving groups in relation to any single lineage. The decline of polygyny in general is also having this effect. There is a tendency to take wives from a limited number of the groups, provided wives are available, and a fear of witchcraft inhibits marriage into unrelated groups. Still, the system is vastly more complicated and flexible than has been described for certain other peoples practicing preferred matrilateral marriage.

582 613 There is, of course, no fixed number of marriage segments in Mapuche society. Indeed, each time the matrilateral pattern is broken and a man marries into an unrelated group, an additional unit of potential wife givers is brought into a matrilateral category with reference to another group. I do not suggest that the matrilateral pattern is broken frequently. If this were the case the Mapuche marriage system would be other than it is. Rather, I simply indicate that such marriages are variations which are handled within the matrilateral framework.

When, through polygyny or otherwise, several groups of potential wife givers are brought into relationship with a wife-receiving group, the offspring of the various women involved have their closest bonds of kinship with their actual mother's group. That is, a man has the closest relationship with his real mother and tends to look for a wife of her lineage or reservation, where he may have access to any of the mother's real or classificatory "brothers' daughters." This tendency to marry a woman from one's actual mother's lineage by no means lessens the flexibility of the matrilateral system, but it does seem to contribute to the greater unity of the sublineages within one's own localized lineage.

On reservation Alonqueo, males who are today between sixty and seventy years of age took almost all their primary wives from a single nearby reservation. Men between the ages of forty and fifty took some women from this reservation, but also ranged farther afield. There was nothing random about this, since, except for a few cases they married into the lineages from whence their mother's brothers had obtained wives (i.e. mother's mother's lineage). In addition, there are also marriages between Alonqueo men and women from lineages which we have previously designated as those of the father's mother. This general situation is indicated on the "lineage map" below.

WIFE GIVERS AND WIFE RECEIVERS

The "lineage map" (Diagram III) is a simplification and schematically arranged picture of wife-giving and wife-receiving patterns 582 613 among lineages A through M on six reservations in the Roble Huacho region southeast of Temuco (see Map I).[1] The arrows represent the flow of women from group to group. The data are incomplete to the extent that some of the smaller lineages are not represented and there are possibly additional marriage ties between those shown which I failed to record. Only marriages with nearby reservations are indicated, there being perhaps as many more-distant groups related as wife givers and wife receivers. Furthermore, the arrows indicate only the direction in which women pass, not the number of women involved. Since I worked full-time on only one of the reservations in [114] this region, I was unable to obtain complete information for others

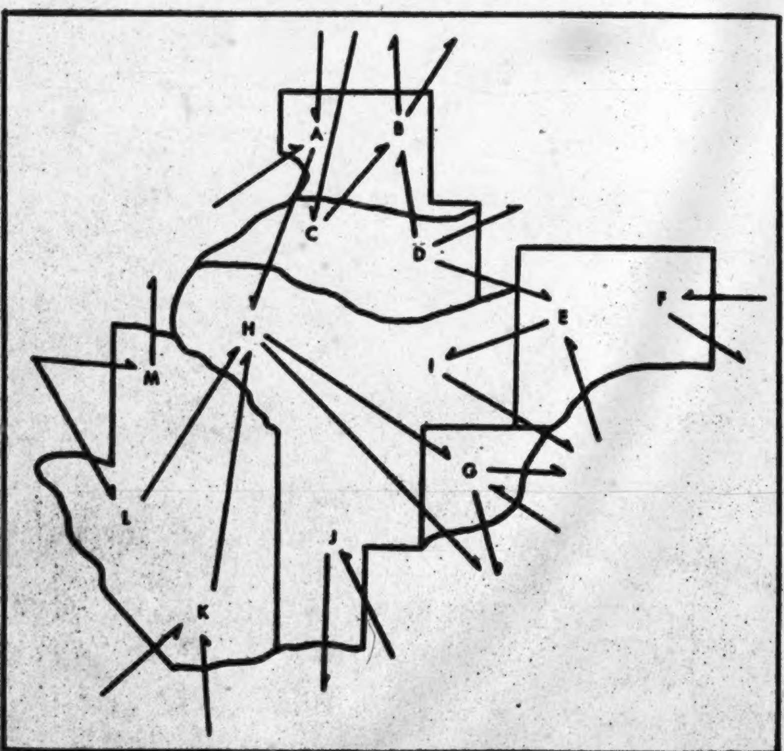

DIAGRAM III

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 6--Analyst]

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[114] during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance involved, some 25 square miles in total area between more than 200 households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Toltén during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

[621] The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

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It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

582 613 [602] On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *ñuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart.

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

[127] Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system.

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

582 613 than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

[590] Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

582 Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this confined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

[595] Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation [885] correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

582 601 613 There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

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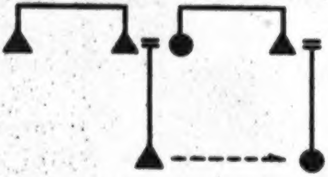

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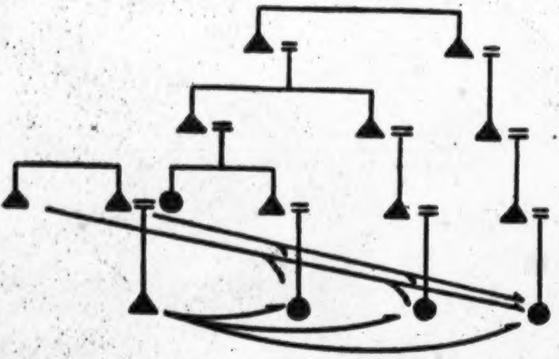

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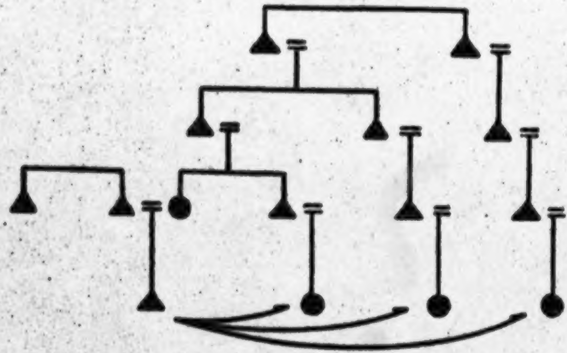

DIAGRAM IV

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structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the immediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[595]
[598]
Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. 613 [622] [178]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

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[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:30. Leach writes that "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that prereservation conditions were inconsistent with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

583 [581] the relatives of the bride and groom. Echoing this notion, Titiev writes (1951:101) that "neither party expects to gain very much in these transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment." Why then is any payment made? What is the significance of equal exchange? Is there no form of compensation paid to the wife's group for relinquishing a woman? On the other hand, why is there protracted haggling over the marriage arrangements? Why is there mention of the groom's land? Why is there payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the bride? Why is there a payment called *mafutun*?

[581] A mere glance at the last four questions seems to suggest that informants' remarks about equality cannot be taken at face value. Even where items of wealth are clearly movable goods, rather than land, the exchange is not actually equal, although the items of greatest economic value tend to cancel each other. It is incorrect to say that the exchange is roughly equal because *mafutun* and the small cash payment are negligible compared to the value of the other items. This would be to disregard their symbolic content, which alone may be considered compensation to a wife-giving group – recognition of its superiority in this regard.

There is a tendency on the part of some anthropologists to confuse symbolism with survivals. This confusion itself is a survival of earlier anthropological thinking in many instances. I do not regard the haggling, the small cash payment, and *mafutun* as nonfunctional, as survivals of a more vigorous Mapuche culture. The form they take
[178] today represents adjustment to changing conditions. Mapuche society as I came to know it in 1953 is undergoing change. It is not, however, a hodgepodge of cultural relics, although, where analysis fails, it is tempting to regard it in this light.

Let us consider marriage wealth in historical terms. Writing of events witnessed around the middle of the sixteenth century in that part of Chile which is now Cautín Province, Mariño de Lovera noted that the wealthiest Mapuche were those who had many daughters to exchange for bride-price (1865:124), implying that on balance a greater amount was paid for women than accompanied them in the form of dowry. Between Lovera's time and the middle of the nineteenth century, accounts suggest that the groom and his kingroup paid heavily for the women they received. The exact manner in which bride-price was amassed is not clear, although chroniclers wrote of the groom calling on his "relatives and friends" for assistance. Such

assistance was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of 583
a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719–20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.)

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1936) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1936:242–70). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an [837]
amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's paramour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that [423]
land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage.

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the [622]
last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Konas*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings — and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land.

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief [622]
to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate [584]
the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families,

583 however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel
[584] of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in
marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage
wealth.

423 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land
made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered
594 that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members,
including the chief who holds the *titulo de merced*, has actual legal
title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the
reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that
was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are
extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local
group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable
goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the
[422] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise,
[432] any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's
death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she
[587] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her
[613] husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over
the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice
[589] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children
with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled
to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after mar-
586 riage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past.
All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession
768 of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the mar-
[178] riage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other
goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in pay-
582 ments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of
wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system,
[613] whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further
inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the
system.

423 There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted
582 through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as
[167] already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration 582
is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The [423]
emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, [167]
many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage
until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment
of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number [589]
of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the
late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are
no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the [595]
previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and
declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition [578]
for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a
tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and
migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been
that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the
son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected 601
in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the 121
Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially
historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility
of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby
leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the
"unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both
of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of
which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a
nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation
and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to
uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology
is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social
system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained
historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change
in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in 613
marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage 584
wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning
the details of kingroup participation, the impression they
leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the
arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition
of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under
different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, [622]

584 it is clear that the chief played an important role in marriage ar-
613 rangements through granting rights of residence to the bride and
[622] providing land for the groom. The chief of a generation ago is said
to have had a similar role, insofar as he represented lineage decisions
in matters of marriage. This need not be taken at face value. Today,
the chief's importance in these situations is relatively inconsequential.
Even the groom's lineage rarely takes an active part as a whole in
marriage negotiations, the sublineages being the most important
7 groups in the arrangement of marriage. While it is actually the mini-
mal lineage of the groom that provides him land and other neces-
sities for setting up his new household, this unit always operates as a
responsible segment of the entire localized lineage.

9

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of 613
sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which in- 628
volve the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual 794
congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional
(local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a
nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a
sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constit-
uent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a [769]
relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and
their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by
the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the
ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and [764]
the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and [241]
agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies
unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual
action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted [182]
will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on
a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic an- 776
cestors of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention 613
to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 769

776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed
613 in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally
thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*.
794 Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both
involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the
guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation
has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in
and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual
assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who
is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining
evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
241 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
613 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
764 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
756 the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as
a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent
ñillatufe, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally
induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle
between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance
which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress
her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes
[534] a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle
or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[755] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive
objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes
[787] possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language
through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices
to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery
which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi*
enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil 756 spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential 787 evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. 754 While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not 794 operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation 782 is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility 241 rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate 794 the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spir- 775 its of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the 622 gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the 776 pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional cere- 778 monial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, 613 there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set 241 of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* 794 ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñilla-* 628 *tun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, 793 ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are 622 integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reser- 613 vation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended 628

24 to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of
794 their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition
628 of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation
there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual
responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended
throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity,
the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may
participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two
congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phe-
nomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed
a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries,
which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of
religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation
are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral
[595] framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny — which
seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching
marriage links — has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-
linked reservations tend to correlate closely with the extension of the
ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obliga-
[613] tions to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-
receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights
and duties.

794 This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are
613 necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matri-
lateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious
[582] activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche
[178] became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these
changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual ac-
tion have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, how-
ever, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the
extension of marriage units and congregational units — unless the Ma-
puche system of religious morality were to become transformed into
a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non-
[754] congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in
placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are super-
[763] naturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame
[754] for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than
to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual
congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neigh- 754
borhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into
the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-
receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that
patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are
largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against
one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a
motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger
would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves
"interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relation-
ship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Like- [534]
wise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or
drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances.
At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a suc-
cessful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñilla-
tufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants"
who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the
throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the
altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long
ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 771
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel
obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual
responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [771]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as-
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on [794]
successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual con-
gregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn*
or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member
of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

764 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting
775 place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar
though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of
Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living
[776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. An-
cestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from cap-
[754] ture by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit
into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the mis-
fortune of the living.

764 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons partici-
613 pating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which
the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair
of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved
would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at
least one *weupin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of
the *weupin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical
accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which
he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that
they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of
evil.

764 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under
613 normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this
628 reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong
moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, repre-
sentatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to mem-
bers of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By
this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assem-
[954] blage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the fes-
tive aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of
the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other
people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral com-
munity these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make
an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply
felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the
compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with re-
spect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human
fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as
they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except
for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute 613
Mapuche informant. 764

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of 628
course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of
each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals
is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility
rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one
participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total
membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on
occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or [794]
ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained
participation of the same reservation groups which constitute
the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested
in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which
their participation attests.

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche 182
society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of 771
religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining
force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the [571]
bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation.
It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined [794]
ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity
of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations,
regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural,
ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world
of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival
gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife
and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate
physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to [613]
the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen – those
of his lineage and that of his wife – and coresidents participate. Being 619
a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a
reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a 182
ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic,
political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would
not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community.
It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations
united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving
units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of 000

These are the fibers of

619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182
771
[181] When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. [624] [198] In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chieftainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182
177 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

Interpretative Summary

105

The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and 177
political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception 187
of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The most outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean peasant society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change — the artificial restriction of farm and pasture land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been 177
a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift 241
433

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177 from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in
24 the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of re-
433 gional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat,
105 oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well
as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants
[161] are similar if not identical—which might lead one to observe that
the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable" —the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

186 The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenac-
182 ity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language,
dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in character-
105 istic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily
observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneuri-
177 alism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but
182 as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened"
648 manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired ad-
herents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community
105 is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Ma- 177
puche society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on 182
whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies 648
from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will 105
disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several gen- 177
erations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional 105
Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those [191]
rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that
is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian.
Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacri- [782]
ficial offerings *should* be made in certain ways – meat, grain, and
liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional
altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type [342]
houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and [556]
the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space,
serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domi-
cile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* [291]
and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume
which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation.
Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen
homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and
various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who
rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because [292]
it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in com-
plete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or
when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which [182]
are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are sym-
bolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing [186]
chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agri- [241]
cultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche
and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose
social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes
in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastruc-
tural changes indicating possible processual trends rather than
culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Arauca- 177
nians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few genera- 182
tions, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil' 114
105

177 persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement
182 with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by
114 not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-
105 range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with
[423] breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings—when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciónes*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indigenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to *obliteration* of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

648 We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the
423 Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their
105 land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights to land.

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[1] Cautinche in 1917 and Carrarrine in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:63, 73).

to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and 648
again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, 182
to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet 105
happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new
symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the
reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration,
and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation
social structure. 105

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace 177
with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean 613
government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup [182]
are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically [622]
with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter [618]
group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did,
and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide
the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship
affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional
rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties
and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and
more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage. 105

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function 177
as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which 62
rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a 618
localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of
ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential [794]
kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of
moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to
homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the
area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures [496]
are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building
and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches,
schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche [182]
society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes"
in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished
from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter,
distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and
those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community
effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group [571]
membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached
person should be kept clearly in mind.

105 177 186 [619] The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

177 182 105 A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjust-
[648] ments have taken place. Political power, vis-á-vis the Chilean govern-
[622] ment, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different
[793] authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders
have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has
acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the
[592] ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as
formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased
[613] in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[195] [2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

105 177 182 [595] [582]

Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

[121]

In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

177 182 121 105

I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

105
177 this, though, it even seems presumptuous to write that Mapuche so-
182 ciety is breaking down under the impact of colonial pressures and
121 then merely indicate the trends with reference to the rubrics of economics, politics, Christianity, and education. One need not have
105 worked in Araucanía to come to this sort of conclusion.

177 If a study of this sort should end with a forecast, I prefer to end
[182] cautiously and gear my prediction to a modest statement in the context of a continuing Mapuche society in which economic accommodation is instrumental to further change. It seems that the Mapuche have attempted to solve a pressing subsistence problem by entering into relationships with Chilean farmers and businessmen. Renting their holdings or otherwise making them available to Chileans on a resident basis is regarded as especially risky, and the Mapuche have tended to frown on such arrangements. But they see less risk in working on a half-share basis with Chileans.

While the latter is not an entirely realistic point of view, the risk involved is not immediately apparent to the Mapuche. Meanwhile, they have the undoubted advantage of utilizing their land more productively on a half-share basis with some of the more technologically advanced Chilean farmers. But the advantages are by no means all in favor of the Mapuche, since Chilean farmers are, in their half-share arrangements, actually breaking through the "ring of iron" formed by the reservations, of which they complain so vociferously in the newspapers, in the national legislature, and in their personal dealings with the Mapuche. Their complaint is given ample political expression, as is the new Mapuche resistance to *división* and Chilean agrarian expansion. Further changes in Mapuche social structure will very likely result from the age-old struggle over land. I hesitate to predict the outcome of the political aspect of this struggle, let alone its social consequences.

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APPENDIXES

[p. 227]

Appendix A

*Household Composition and Change: 1910-53, Reservation Alonqueo**

(A) (1910) Alonso/Wi, 2 sons, SiDa; (B) Curihueque/Wi, 2 sons, 1 dau. 592

After leaving the parental household, Alonso and his family moved near 621
where *ruka* 2 is situated on Map II.[†] He and his wife died *c.* 1920.

Alonso's oldest son, José Antonio, married his first wife after 1900 and
had a son, Juan, his only living heir (who later established his own household
a few hundred yards away from that of his father). After the birth of
Juan, José Antonio separated from his wife and remarried but had no chil- [587]
dren by his second marriage.

José Antonio, his son, Juan, and his second wife continued to live in the household of the deceased Alonso, along with his brother, Necul (who later died unmarried and without heirs), and his younger brother, José (born after 1900).

José married and had several children (none of whom have yet left the reservation or the parental household), and one of his sons, José Segundo, is now married and is living in the parental household with his wife and two children. Alonso's brother Curihueque, who was married at the time of *radicación* (he and his wife are now dead), continued to live in the household after Alonso died. Curihueque's son, Juan, is still living in the household; Curihueque's daughter left the reservation when she married; his other son is absent.

When Alonso died, the chieftainship passed to his oldest son, José Antonio, without dispute. Ten years prior to this event, however, José Antonio's son, Juan, married and moved from the parental household to *ruka* 1 (see Map II), where he lived with his wife and seven children until he died in 1947.

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* Letters A, B, C, etc., refer to Diagram I. [see cat. 116 p.93 — ANALYST]

[p. 228 is blank] [†] [see cat. 116 p.32 — ANALYST.]

592 621 From Alonso's original household, therefore, which was composed of two elementary families and a collateral relative (SiDa), there have emerged two households: one maintained by his youngest son, José, and shared by his brother Curihueque's son and family; the other, an offshoot, set up by Alonso's grandson.

Household 1 (see Map II): Widow of Juan, 1 unmarried son, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married son, his wife and infant son, and the widow's SiDaDa.

(X) *Household 2*: José/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 6 unmarried daus, 1 married son, his wife and 2 children; and the deceased Curihueque's married son, his wife and 3 children.

(C) (1910) Juan Pablo Huentemil/1st Wi, 1 son, 3 daus.

Juan Pablo was a brother of Alonso. He and his family were not living on the "reservation" at the time of application for the *título de merced*, but moved back in time for the *radicación*. He set up his household in the southern, uninhabited part of the reservation, near the site of *ruka* 3.

[595] Juan Pablo took another wife by whom he had two sons, Ramón and Juan, now occupying households 4 and 5, respectively. When Transito, the son by the first wife, married, he and his wife remained in Juan Pablo's *ruka*. When Juan and Ramón married, they established *rukas* of their own. Juan Pablo died in 1950, both of his wives having succumbed years before, and Transito became head of the household. Juan Pablo's children by his first wife no longer live on the reservation, with the exception of Transito. The present offshoots from Juan Pablo's household are:

Household 3: Transito/Wi, 3 unmarried sons.
Household 4: Ramón/Wi, 2 sons (under 5 years).
Household 5: Juan/Wi, 1 unmarried dau.
(Three more of Juan Pablo's sons no longer live on the reservation.)

(D) (1910) Minchiqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 2 daus, SiSo.

Minchiqueo was a brother of Alonso. His son Vicente still lives on the reservation on the same site occupied by him, *ruka* 6.

Minchiqueo had two more sons after *radicación*, both still alive but both absent from the reservation. He also had two more daughters, one of whom is presently keeping house for Vicente, the other being absent. Vicente's cousin (SiSo) died without heirs.

Household 6: Vicente, Si.

(E) (1910) Widow of Marin, 2 sons (one married with no children); a BrSo, his wife, 4 sons, 1 dau; a SiSo of Marin.

Marin, a brother of Alonso, is said to have died in the last Mapuche rebellion, and his widow died c. 1910. The rest of the household continued to live near the present *ruka* 7. All those mentioned in the *título de merced* are now dead. Marin has no direct descendants. His BrSo, Lepin, had five more children, the oldest of which is now the household head of *ruka* 7, where he lives with his two younger brothers and two younger sisters.

Household 7: José Lepin, 2 Br, 2 Si.

(F) (1910) Curihuinca/Wi, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus, 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Curihuinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—*rukas* 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of *radicación*, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of *ruka* 8, where he lives and is cared for by his older sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1928. [595]

Curihuinca's next oldest surviving son, Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the parental household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present *ruka*, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in *ruka* 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

Household 8: Pablo, Si.
Household 9: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
Household 10: Bernardo, 3 daus.
Household 11: Francisco/Wi, 4 daus.

(1910) Llancamil/2 Wi (the first childless), 5 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined).

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *título de merced*, at which time he occupied a *ruka* near household 12. Llancamil's only living (recognized) son is Guillermo, who lives in *ruka* 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's *ruka* and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 16, Juan Millapan, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 15 with her son Segundo and a daughter. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonqueo where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in *ruka* 14. His wife is descended from Cayuqueo, an original *radicado* but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

Household 12: Llancamil, dau.
Household 13: Guillermo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 1 Si.
Household 14: Domingo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 3 stepdaus.
Household 15: Segundo, Mo, 1 Br.

(1910) Millapan/Wi, 1 son, his wife and 2 sons, 1 dau.

Millapan's grandson, Juan, occupied household 16, where he moved at the time of his first marriage. Formerly, the parental household, headed by the grandfather, Millapan, was situated near *ruka* 12 or 15. Juan married after his father and mother died, when he moved to his present location. Juan had no children by his first wife. His present wife is Chilean and has one daughter by a previous marriage (to a Chilean) and two sons and two daughters by Juan. Juan remarried after his first wife died.

Household 16: Juan/Wi, 2 sons, 2 daus, 1 stepdau.

(1910) Catrilef/2 Wi, the first with 3 daus, the second with 1 son; WiMo.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Catrilef was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Calfumil/2 Wi, both childless.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Calfumil was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Lipin Nanco/Wi, 3 sons, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married dau.

Lepin was a brother of Alonso. All persons mentioned in the *título de merced* have died. A son, presently absent from the reservation, and a daughter (widowed), who has returned to the reservation with her children, are the only descendants of Lipin Nanco.

Household 17: Isabel (widowed), 3 sons, 1 dau.

(1910) Meliqueo/Wi, 1 son, 2 daus.

Meliqueo was a brother of Alonso. His wife and he are dead. His son died without issue. His daughters married out. The family is no longer represented on the reservation.

(1910) José Marin/Wi, 3 sons.

José Marin was a brother of Alonso. No descendants are alive on the reservation.

(1910) Juan Peralta/Wi; 1 son, 3 unmarried Br; 1 married "uncle," Juan Huiriqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 1 dau.

Juan Peralta (deceased) was not related to Alonso. His wife, son, and two brothers are dead. His other brother, Luciano, was in Argentina, but visited the reservation in 1953, as he does from time to time. Juan Huiriqueo and his wife and children are all dead. His granddaughter Petrona's son, Carileo, lives on the reservation.

Household 18: Inocencio Carileo, Si, uncle Luciano.

(1910) Francisco Huiriqueo/Wi, no children.

Francisco was not related to Alonso. He had two sons, Francisco (deceased) and Manuel, and two daughters, Anilla and Juana, both of whom married out (now deceased).

Juana had a daughter, Maria Llanquitruf, who, after being twice divorced, 592
returned to the reservation of her mother with her small children. Anilla 621
married out and had a daughter, Maria R., who came to live on reservation 589
Alonqueo with her son, Santiago Railef, after her husband died.

Francisco Huiriqueo had a son, Tani, after the *radicación*. Francisco's other son, Manuel, had a son Pancho.

Household 19: Maria Llanquitruf, 4 daus.
Household 20: Tani Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 daus.
Household 21: Manuel Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 3 daus.
Household 22: Pancho/Wi.
Household 23: Santiago Railef/Mo.

(1910) Widow of Ruñil, 1 son, 1 dau.

Neither Ruñil nor his wife were related to Alonso. Ruñil's son, Huechecura (now dead), left two sons, Andres and Juan, who are still living on the reservation.

Household 24: Juan/Wi, 3 daus.
Household 25: Andres/Wi, 3 sons.

(1910) Quintuqueo/Wi, 1 son, 1 stepson, WiBr.

Quintuqueo was not related to Alonso. His son, Ramón Raillan, lives on the reservation with his daughter. His wife is absent. His sister and her husband, five sons and two daughters were living with him in 1953.

Household 26: Ramón, 1 dau; Si/husband, 7 children.

(1910) Cayuqueo/Wi, 1 dau/husband, 2 sons.

Cayuqueo was not related to Alonso.

(1910) José Quintuqueo (brother of Quintuqueo).

José was not related to Alonso. He and his family have died out.

(1910) Pichun.[b]

(1910) Llanqueo.[b]

(1910) Curihuentru.[b]

(1910) Troilan.[b]

(1910) Anjelina.[b]

[b] All died out without heirs.

Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

31 Most of the 313 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacareria*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

[823] [592] [231] In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I),[1] the number of adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

Reservation Llancaman has 293 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

423 On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

31 133 Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

31 The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[1] [See CAT. 116, pp. 22 and 93 respectively —Analyst]

[Reservation Alonqueo]

162
592
423
422
231
427
648

CHART 1

	HOMESTEADS				TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
[2] A	Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	2	0	6M [a]	0	6M	0	x	x
2)	12	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x	
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
6)	2	0	(3)	2	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0		
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9)	3	1	(3)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x	
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	50	6	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0		
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10	15	5	1	10C [b]	0	0	0	0		x
13)	3	2	(0)	5	0	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x
14)	3	4	(0)	7	48	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
16)	3	4	(0)	7	50	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x	
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
21)	5	2	(0)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x
22)	2	0	(0)	2	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?		
23)	1	1	(0)	2	8	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x	
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x
	Totals														
	80	53	(25)	133	518	485	102	15	115	14	27	66	34		

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[a] M = with Mapuche.

[b] C = with Chileans.

2/A [Numbers in This column correspond to households indicated on MAP II (see cat. 116, p. 32)--Analyst]

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area [133] of 200 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

CHART 2 [Reservation Llancaman]

162
592
423
422
419
23
648

HOMESTEADS				TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/Rented			ANIMALS Shared/Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	8	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(0)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	5C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(2)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
38	46	(12)	80	181	234	98	27	80	11	17		71		

[Reservation
Huilcan]

CHART 3

162
592
423
422
429
231
648

HOMESTEADS				TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	*Totals*	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	3C	0	0	0	10C		
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	3C	0	0	0	0		x
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	16C		x
2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x
1	0	(4)	1	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	0	(4)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x
Totals														
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	5	5	29	3	9	0	100		

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chacarería--includes maize, potatoes, beans, peas, and other vegetables which may be grown both as field or garden crops
división--the division of reservation land into individual titles after the voting by reservation inhabitants to give up reservation status
fundo--large land holdings
kureyewen--the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen
lakutun--the ceremonial naming ceremony
lofche--extended family groups living in adjacent houses
longo--a kinship elder
machi--shaman
mediero--a sharecropping system which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage
mingaco--communal labor
ñillanthungung--marriage discussions between the two families involved
ñillatufe--ritual priests
parcela--small land holdings
radicación--original registration, establishment of reservations
radicado, a--male or female registered at the time the reservation was established
vuelta mano--work done on a reciprocal basis
weupin--orators who represent the patrilineage of a deceased individual